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THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN THE PRESENT CENTURY—ITS FEARS AND HOPES FOR THE NEXT CENTURY.[1]

FOURTEEN months hence the nineteenth century will have come to an end, adding a new link to the long chain of centuries that has marked the varying course of the human race from its beginning.

> "And even as he, who, with distressful breath,
> Forth issued from the sea upon the shore,
> Turns to the water perilous and gazes," [2]

so we, children of the Catholic Church, now that the dawn of the twentieth century is already breaking on the horizon, may be allowed to glance back over the course during the last hundred years of that wondrous Bark which nineteen centuries ago set sail from the shores of Palestine, bearing with it the cross of Christ, the liberty of the world, and the lofty destinies of redeemed humanity.

A retrospect will show us by what manifold and furious tempests that Bark was assailed, and how it was guided by a loving and strong hand, one that was able to calm the waves at the opportune time. Such a review must needs convince us more and more of the great consoling truth, that the events of ages are simply the grand expression, a vast epic, so to speak, describing mankind in its free activity, under the strong and gentle ruling of Providence; in other words, whilst men, cities, nations, empires act, move, and, after a brief period of agitation,

[1] Address delivered before the *Accademia di Religione Cattolica*, Rome.

[2] Dante, *Inferno*, Canto I.

fall to disappear from view, God alone abides unchangeable, eternal, and, holding in His grasp the reins which direct human events, turns all things to His own glory and to the spread of Christ's Kingdom, the Church, according to the concept so sublimely unfolded by St. Augustine in his *City of God*, and by Bossuet in his *Universal History*. Christ had for His inheritance all nations; He fills the world; the ages bear His name—"Thy Kingdom is a Kingdom of all ages;" and the Church, bought with His Blood and upheld by Him, defies the onslaughts of man and the gnawing tooth of time, outliving all revolutions, all attacks, all ruins.

But we shall not be satisfied with a review of the past. As the Hebrew people of old, when they had passed safely through the Red Sea and had sung a hymn of thanksgiving to God—"Cantemus Domino, gloriose enim magnificatus est"—looked forward to the journey before them, so when we shall have briefly recounted the chief struggles and triumphs of the Church during this century, we shall strive, though the range of our vision be limited, to search into her present condition even from a human standpoint and to forecast her fears and hopes for the century before us. From this brief investigation we shall justly derive consolation and hope; above all, we shall be enabled to take breath and fresh courage in defence of the rights of Holy Mother Church, on whom depends the welfare of souls and the true progress of Christian civilization.

The termination of a century frequently marks a mere division of time, and not the beginning or end of an important historical epoch. But all thinkers agree that the nineteenth century, more than any of its predecessors, marks the commencement and progress of a great evolution of the human race. Between the years 1800 and 1900 man by his activity, energy, and daring has conquered the earth, has explored it, studied it, and taken an inventory of all it contains. As king of creation he has taken possession of his realm, subjecting everything to his service, use, and comfort.

His progress in the physical and natural sciences has been marvellous. The two great discoveries of steam and electricity have entirely transformed the organization of modern life, by

annihilating distance, linking all nations together, and giving rise to divers amazing machines intended to supplant or indefinitely multiply human labor. These felicitous discoveries will ever remain among the chief and undeniable glories of our century, and because of them we congratulate the century, and we rejoice, since every scientific discovery is a hymn to the God of nature; as a learned French prelate recently said, taking his inspiration from the pages of Holy Writ, "Deus scientiarum Dominus."

But has man proportionately risen in the economic, political, and social scale? Has he increased the material prosperity of families and of nations, toward which he justly aspires with so much ardor? An investigation into this lies beyond our scope; but the groans issuing from the flanks of aged Europe, the limitless armaments that are draining the resources of nations and engendering misery, the sway of brute force over right, the gigantic struggle brewing between the upper and lower classes of society, show as clearly as the light of mid-day how false have been the promises of certain innovators who announced to the deluded multitude that their reforms were to usher in the golden age, the reign of justice, world-wide peace and contentment.

But it behooves us to consider the course of events from a higher plane, that is, from a moral and religious standpoint, as more befitting the nobility of man's mission on earth and his immortal destiny beyond the grave. Let us at once avow it, in this respect, too, the nineteenth century has decidedly no reason to vaunt; for, if on the one hand there are not wanting examples of preëminent and often of sublime virtue, on the other hand, every reflecting and high-souled man is cast down and utterly appalled, first by the ever-increasing mass of misdeeds, of crimes, of suicides that are renewing in our midst the worst days of the old pagan world; and again, by the weakness of religious faith,[3] by the confusion of justice with

[3] A well-known French philosopher, M. Pouillè, published an important article in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* of January 15, 1897, in which, after giving the statistics of suicides and crime, he was forced to acknowledge that their increase coincided with the decrease of the influences of religion. One of the greatest of German statisticians, Herr von Oethugen, came to the same conclusion in his *Moralstatistik*.

injustice, by the precocious depravity of youth, by the anæmic condition of personal character and the disorganization of the family.

It must, however, be acknowledged that the well-spring and cause of this unhappy state of things cannot be entirely charged against the present century. They were the dire heirloom handed down by its predecessor, an heirloom that hangs over the nineteenth century like a frightful disaster; and if this consideration does not justify our century, it may serve as its excuse, or, at least, as an extenuation of its grave and numerous shortcomings. In truth, during the last part of the eighteenth century a frenzied, corrupt, and error-ridden spirit seemed to invade all classes of society, and a general conspiracy, as compact as it was astute, was entered into against the Church and against the divine, liberating truths of which she is the guardian. Science, eloquence, ridicule, calumny, violence, everything was set in motion against religion. Whilst the Encyclopedists reared against the Gospel the gigantic edifice of a learning bereft of faith, Rousseau beguiled imaginations with all the charms of a seductive style, and Voltaire poured out on the public the vitriol of his sarcasm and the filth of his obscenity.

As soon as moral and religious laws, the safeguards of civil society, were swept away, the catastrophe could not be stayed. It broke loose, violent, terrible, bloody, overturning the entire social structure of the past, and filling with stupor and awe even those who had brought it on. Conspirators and miscreants were the first victims; but the innocent were involved in the common ruin, and the Church above all was cruelly stricken. The civil constitution of the clergy, to which 11,000 ecclesiastics unfortunately gave their adhesion, was intended to wipe out in France the hierarchy and the laws of the Church. Priests who remained steadfast in their duty were condemned to the block, whilst prostitutes were enthroned on the altars. Divine worship and the priesthood were suppressed; and, as a climax of desolation, Pius VI, having been dragged through the length of Italy, expired at Valence, on August 29, 1799. The condition of the Church

could not have been more perilous or more distressing, and its enemies, drunk with the joy of triumph, flattered themselves that the end of the century would be also the end of the Church.

But it was precisely at this juncture that the action of God began. From the bottom of the ship in which He seemed to slumber, the Divine Master rose up majestic, and repeating the gesture that had more than once in the cycle of ages swayed sea and wind, He checked of a sudden the onrush of the revolution and gave to His Church assistance as potent as it was unexpected.

Pius VI was but two months in his grave, when a soldier, urged by a mysterious hand, suddenly arrived from the heart of Egypt, overthrew the bloody Republic, and seized with strong and steady hand the reins of government. Bonaparte's achievement seemed to every one a stroke of Providence. By an insight of genius he understood that, without religion, society relapses into a savage state; firmly grounded in this conviction, he reopened churches, recalled the clergy, and, in the teeth of a vigorous and stubborn opposition on the part of his own adherents, he formed an alliance with the Church by subscribing to the famous Concordat, an instrument of reconciliation and peace, that, after a hundred years and repeated assaults upon it, still remains the basis of ecclesiastical law in France. Thus opened the present century. From the jaws of a revolution, the most fearful in history, God drew His Church unscathed, robust, purified by persecution's fire.

But how comes it to pass that so soon again, after a few days of calm, the sky lowers, and a fresh storm bursts over the Church? Mystery of Providence! Napoleon, impelled by insatiable ambition, and blinded by the glare of power and victory, becomes in his turn a persecutor, heaps bitterness on the head of the gentlest of pontiffs, and casts the Church into a sea of trials and sufferings. But God lifts up His hand once more, and the frozen steppes of Russia, the plain of Waterloo, the castle of Fontainebleau, and the rock of St. Helena expiate the crime of a man who, never-

theless, was great for many reasons, and for whom even the persecuted Pope cherished a fatherly and indulgent sympathy.

At the downfall of Napoleon, which had drenched all Europe in blood, there seemed to arise an order of things unknown to the old world, that was buried in the tomb of its conqueror. The fever of revolution and war was followed by a sort of convalescence, in which humanity regained possession of its vital force. The venerable old Pontiff, Pius VII, reëntered Rome in triumph. France restored her ancient dynasty. Kingdoms arose from their ruins. The Church began to recover everywhere her former honored position, and a long era of peace for religion and society seemed assured.

But it was not to be. Count Joseph de Maistre very acutely remarked that the French revolution was not a mere fleeting occurrence, but an historical epoch. And, indeed, although temporarily checked by the iron hand of Napoleon, who had made use of it to further his designs, the revolution continued vigorous and powerful through the perversion of ideas; and, though Voltaire's disciples, crushed under universal reprobation, acted with more circumspection, they had not, by any means, forsaken their guilty aim of destroying the Catholic religion. They concocted a safer and cleverer plan, that of causing their perfidious doctrines gradually to percolate through the masses by presenting their teaching, not in its naked repulsiveness, but under the seductive guise of liberty and universal toleration. This system, to which was given the alluring name of Liberalism, strained every nerve to lay hold on the education of the rising generations and on public favor. It proclaimed that it respected all creeds. It accorded to every man unlimited right to say and to publish what he pleased, even though it were false and pernicious. It denied to the State power to restrict liberty of speech, and obliged it equally to countenance and respect good and evil, error and truth. These were the avowed great and immortal principles of Liberalism, the decisive code of the future, the guarantee of individual knowledge and liberty, the fruitful germ of future progress.

At the present day, after accumulated dire experience,

every sane man would mistrust such principles as repugnant to the true philosophical and social conception of liberty, which by its nature should be directed in the interest of goodness and truth; but at that time these principles enjoyed immense, incredible success. The word *liberty* exercised an irresistible fascination. Factions inscribed it on their banners. Professors proclaimed it from their chairs; and, what is more astonishing, a large number of respectable and devoted Catholics believed it to be the proper shibboleth of a Christianity accommodated to the exigencies of the time.

But in the midst of this universal contagion, the everlasting miracle promised by God to His Church burst forth again in overpowering splendor. The Popes, watchful guardians of the purity of faith and morals, and solicitous for the real good of nations, were not found wanting in their Apostolic charge. Gregory XVI, in his celebrated encyclical "*Mirari vos*," issued on August 15, 1832, and later on Pius IX in the Syllabus, fearlessly denounced this unbridled liberty, this misalliance of truth with error, as sources of intellectual and moral corruption amongst the masses, and as causes of widespread and inevitable ruin in Church and State.

Then arose a veritable hurricane of invective, insults, and accusations against the teaching of these two enlightened Pontiffs. Rationalism, master of every government, styled Gregory and Pius foes of civil progress and even of human reason. But history, logic and the sad experience of events have thoroughly and solemnly vindicated them. The century has not yet come to an end, and contemporary governments have been forced to understand, though too late, that those so much vaunted principles are, to say the least, powerless to secure social peace in the face of the grave economic conflicts of the present age. Aroused by the wave of indignation that has swept over all Europe against the press and the art of depraving, States have been constrained to perceive that there is little difference between the diffusion of perverse doctrines and incendiarism, revolt, dynamite, and the poniard.

But any observant and calm mind might have seen that the trend of those principles, even when they first saw the light of

day, was to destroy the two great forces in society, the authority of the State and the authority of the Church. As early as 1830, the same storm, which in France had subverted the throne, raged furiously against religion. At Paris, at Rheims, at Toulouse, at Châlons, at Orleans, and in other cities the rabble enacted scenes of savagery. They smashed altars to pieces, trampled the crucifix under foot, laid waste episcopal residences, and plucked the cross from the churches. All this filled with rapturous delight rancorous Voltairian bourgeois, who at that period flattered themselves for a second time that they would have the opportunity of assisting at the funeral of a great religion, but who now tremble for their wealth threatened by a starved proletariat whom they corrupted.

But this was not the only kind of war waged in our century against the Church. The opposition to her, ever intended to lessen or destroy her free and salutary influence on human society, assumed, however, a distinct character, a special physiognomy according to the bent, the historical precedents, and the moral condition of each nation. In the Austrian Empire, in several States of Italy, in Spain, in Portugal and the Central States of America—countries that had remained Catholic—regalism was reintroduced and vamped up for the purpose of tightening and weighting still more the fetters of the Church. In other parts the way was paved for the separation of Church and State. This policy was later on adopted by the government of Italy; and in spite of all lying semblance to the contrary, it is a policy whose aim is to sever the Christian from the citizen, to assign supreme, unlimited power to the civil authorities, and leave the Church maimed, weaponless, and stripped of her most vital rights. Lastly, in other countries, as Russia and Germany, where heresy and schism had erected the omnipotence and absolutism of the State into an incontrovertible maxim, the Church was assailed in her prerogatives, her mission, her liberty, her autonomy.

Now, then, against all these obstacles and errors, against all this oppression, Divine Providence not only raised up, as in times past, intrepid champions from among the bishops and priests, but, conformably to the needs of the times, it

also stirred up a new force, auxiliary indeed and subordinate, but of great value to the Church, namely, the Catholic laity. The mantles of de Maistre, Bonald, and Châteaubriand had fallen upon Lacordaire and Montalembert in France; O'Connell in Ireland, and Görres in Germany. When the whole Catholic world was disheartened, these young men lifted up their powerful voices on the rostrum, in books, and in the daily press. In liberty's name, which their adversaries used as a pretext for persecuting the faith, they eloquently upheld the rights of the Church. Thus, religion, shamefully ousted, under the new forms of government, from the post of honor assigned to her by the ancient regime, gathered fresh strength and vitality from the amalgamation of Catholic citizens who, in the panoply of civil and political rights, naturally denied them by absolute governments, eagerly undertook to defend with legal weapons the rights and interests of the Church. This is one of the pivotal facts of our century; it has reaped Catholics more than one victory, as in Germany and Belgium, and it will have far-reaching consequences in the centuries to come.

This force was brought into play very seasonably at the epoch of which we are speaking, since at that time the revolutionary spirit was plotting new and formidable assaults on the Church in Italy, in the very core of Catholicity. We need not linger here over a recital of the events of 1848. Still engraven on all minds are a kind-hearted and venerable Pontifi's fatherly and loving anxiety to meet the legitimate aspirations of his people, the firmness with which he resisted unjust pretensions, and finally, the shameful excesses of cabals that constrained him to quit Rome in order to safeguard his Apostolic freedom and independence. Let us pass over that sad period, and dwell for a moment on the purest and brightest page of contemporaneous history, that which tells of a new lustre shed on the Queen of Heaven. On Gaeta's rock, in the land of his exile, Pius IX had resolved to proclaim the sweet and consoling dogma of Mary's Immaculate Conception. This pious and prudent design was carried out in Rome a few years later, when, on the 8th of September,

1854, in presence of 192 bishops, the august and infallible voice was heard, that, beneath the glorious vault of Bramante and Michael Angelo, proclaimed to the Church the preservation of the Blessed Virgin from the taint of original sin.

The definition of this dogma, so dear to the hearts of the faithful, assigned to the Mother of the Divine Word her true place in the plan of our Redemption, encircled her virginal brow with a new crown of light, and formed the sublimest glorification of moral beauty, a thing much forgotten in these days. That announcement fell upon the world like a chaste effluence of grace and love; it transported the children of the faith to a pure region, where they might contemplate as in a vision celestial the matchless Virgin who hovers like a spotless dove over the muddy waters of the deluge. And that sovereign lady of whom Dante sang:

> "Not only thy benignity gives succor
> To him who asketh it, but oftentimes
> Forerunneth of its own accord the asking,"—

she accepted earth's homage and lavished upon it the treasures of her inexhaustible, motherly tenderness.

Three years later, on February 11, 1858, she appeared at Lourdes to a poor little girl of the common people; on all our misdeeds, on our ingratitude, on our griefs the smile of her heavenly countenance fell, and she opened up in the midst of the Pyrenees a new well-spring of favors and divine wonders.

This special protection of the Blessed Virgin was more than ever necessary for the Church, because evil days were drawing nigh, days of direst distress, when the faithful and their august head were to be the objects of new and terrible persecutions. The Church had a presentiment of the impending struggle, and led by the Holy Spirit, she prepared a providential concentration of her forces by putting them all at the disposal of her Supreme Head. In view of the shifting conditions of all human organizations, it was of the utmost importance to the Church that she possess one central authority, well defined, universally acknowledged, and which could promptly and efficaciously intervene whenever need arose. Now the Vatican Council had time to render this most valuable aid to the Church. By a dogmatic

Constitution of July 18, 1870, it proclaimed Papal Infallibility and thus sealed the promise which Christ made to Peter and on which is grounded the whole structure of the Church. Henceforward the waves of error will break in vain against that unshaken rock, and Catholics from every clime will have a sure and peaceful refuge.

Both these noble definitions, published within a short distance of time from one another, the one honoring the Blessed Virgin, the other honoring the Chair of St. Peter, have had an immense and salutary influence on the religious character of our century, which, in spite of all its faults, will go down in history as the century of Mary and of the Roman Pontificate.

The long reign of Pius IX was made glorious and fruitful by another invaluable benefit to the Church. Turning to her profit those results of modern science—facility of intercommunication and annihilation of distances—the august Pontiff set in motion everywhere a new current of Christian life, a noble rivalry of zeal and love for the Holy See, an increased energy and activity in every part of the Church. Under him the Papacy ceased to be far away. The spiritual family relationship that knits the Pope with the faithful of every nation became more affectionate and intimate. By unmistakable tokens, touching to behold, the venerable and beloved Pontiff was seen to be the father of each and all.

But whilst the Church was thus drawing closer together the bonds of her beautiful unity in faith and discipline, revolution and heresy were mustering their forces, to hurl them in powerful and fierce assault against the See of Peter and the Church. And now that we have arrived at the history of our own times, there is no need of wasting words over deeds that still weigh on our hearts. The temporal power of the Popes, that had seen eleven centuries pass away, that had sprung from and had been cemented by the rights and gratitude of nations, went down before armed force; and the beloved Pontiff beheld the waves of triumphant revolution break against the threshold of the Vatican.

The German Empire inaugurated its foundation with a new Cæsarism that put hardships on the Catholic conscience.

In May of 1873 it promulgated the famous laws called, by sad irony, *Kulturkampf*, fight for civilization, and intended solely to crush the Church beneath the omnipotence of the State. The persecution, like the man of iron who carried it out, was brutal, ferocious; it smote bishops, priests, religious, laymen, journalists, and inoffensive women. Monasteries were emptied. Dioceses were deprived of their bishops, who were either imprisoned or exiled. Parishes were robbed of their pastors. But the constancy of clergy and people could not be shaken, and notwithstanding enticements of every description, out of thousands of priests there were found but eighty-four defections.

Not much different was the persecution against the Catholic Church in the Swiss Cantons, dominated by the influence of the German Empire. Under the initiative of such men as Carteret and Bard, it started violently at Geneva and spread to the vast diocese of Basle and above all to the *Bernese Jura.*

In Russia there broke out afresh a systematic harassing of Poles and the Uniate Greeks, who were condemned once more to people the inhospitable wastes of Siberia. In Austria the Concordat was denounced, under the false pretence that the definition of Papal Infallibility had changed the standing of one of the contracting parties. Gambetta shouted: "Le Cléricalisme, voilà l'ennemi!" and France was again plunged into religious strife.

Such was the condition of the Church when Pius IX, a magnanimous and fatherly Pontiff, gentle towards men but unbending in his principles, went down to the grave. Then ascended the Papal throne the wise Pontiff to whom we all offer the tribute of our love, obedience, and admiration, and for whom we pray that his years may be lengthened to the increase and the glory of the Church and the welfare of society.

He has measured the width and depth of the evil of the times. He has studied the character of our age, its weakness, its faults, its aspirations, its needs, its praiseworthy instincts. He has grounded the fundamental rule of his Pontificate on

an harmonious synthesis; he would turn all to the service and glory of God, by enlightening rulers and their subjects; by removing prejudice and deep-seated rancor against religion and the Holy See; by treating according to the profoundest principles of theology and philosophy the manifold intricate questions bearing on Church and human society; by paternally recalling to the old sheepfold the scattered flocks of East and West; by uniting, without confounding reason and faith, science and revelation, the interests of time and those of eternity. Thus has he appeared above our storm-beaten age as the ambassador of a higher power, as the representative of a greater moral force, as the chief teacher who points out to a world enshrouded in darkness the luminous path which it must follow. Such is the condition of the Papacy at the end of our century. It is a condition that forms, as it were, a synthesis of the events that we have enumerated, and discloses the sovereign intervention of Providence on behalf of the Church.

Will the world listen to the voice of Leo? Will it accept his unerring guidance and paternal counsel? or will it rather spurn the loving care of its physician and cast itself headlong into the abyss?

It remains for us now to dwell on the hopes and fears of the Church for the century before us. Let us without prejudice or passion cast our eyes on contemporary society and scrutinize the obstacles that it can throw in the path of the Church, as well as the forces by which the Church can offset them. In all frankness I straightway confess that the obstacles are many and grave. A bird's-eye view of the chief ones will suffice.

One of the most alarming is the perversion of minds at the present time. From the mongrel and foggy philosophic systems of Kant, Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel, who did away with the objective reality of things; from French Encyclopedism, which villified and dismantled Christianity; from the insolent theories of Strauss, which Renan presented under a different form and which reduced Christ and the Gospel to a tissue of myths, there

logically sprang generations of rationalists, materialists, and atheists, who laid waste both reason and faith, expressly sought to blot God out of men's minds, out of the family and society, and to overthrow the ancient edifice of Christian faith.

And what renders the situation far worse is that contemporary governments, saturated with the above-mentioned errors, wage war, now openly, now covertly, but always systematically and stubbornly, on the Church which they nevertheless know to be God's representative on earth. A French prelate said very spiritedly to a Cabinet Minister: "It is a great evil that there is not a State religion; but what is worse is that there is a State irreligion."

And unfortunately such is the case. In some countries the government, lorded over by sects, not only in the insanity of its pride refuses homage and worship to God, but it also strives to eliminate Him from public and private life; and worse still, from the intellect and heart of youth, the hope of Church and State. This is the most baneful crime of our times; it is tantamount to positive apostasy and in its train will follow disaster in our own day and in days to come.

Another hindrance to the salutary mission of the Church is the strong and singular bent of the age toward things material. The great discoveries of modern times, the increase of industries and commerce, the hunger after riches and the pleasures of life, the feverish rivalry of nations, seem to have diverted men from the saving and sublime truths that regard God, the soul, religion and the immortal destiny of men. Accordingly the number of those is incalculable who are indifferent through habit, or who have reasoned themselves into skepticism and have turned a deaf or heedless ear to the maternal voice of the Church.

Nor is this all. Because of a false and sectarian notion of liberty, it is permitted that from books, professorial chairs, the stage, the daily press, the novel, a torrent of errors, corruption, hatred, incitement to crime, corrosive of every idea of virtue, of every notion of justice and honesty, of every noble and generous instinct, should pour down with impunity on the defenceless multitude. O what a sad outlook! What ruin, what loss to the Church are stored up for the future!

Nor does the awful penalty decreed for such aberration by God, logic, and history, seem to be far off! In our day a huge wave of revolt is sweeping over the world and is stirring to the depths of their souls the serried ranks of proletariats, often bowed down with misery, oftener still seduced by ambitious demagogues. All hope of a reward in heaven having been snatched from them, they gape with hunger for their share of the goods and pleasures of earth. Therefore they are plotting; they are organizing and herding together, ready to break loose on society; and even now their dull and distant rumblings break on the ear like the sound of an advancing army. Through what a furnace Church and society must pass! To what crimes against property, authority, and the family will not these savage hordes abandon themselves!

Nor is there in sight any remedy for so great a danger. A daring, unscrupulous, occult sect has wound its coils about almost all governments and hinders them from having recourse to the moral force of the Church, which in unison with the State could yet save society from the great catastrophe that stares it in the face. The evil influence of Freemasonry, whose hatred for the Church is as fierce and implacable as ever, constitutes and will continue to constitute another danger to the Church, unless Catholics resist it with virile steadfastness; the absence of which up to the present has been one of that society's main sources of strength.

Lastly, to pass over in silence other causes of apprehension, the Church in her spread through the world, will be confronted with Protestantism and schism. Sheltered under the ægis of most powerful nations and furnished with a copious supply of means, these two forces will, inch by inch, and on every spot of the globe, dispute with her the conquest of souls. Moreover, the Church will have to contend with inveterate prejudice and violent passions; and, last of all, she will, perhaps, in the century before us, have to undergo a struggle, cruel, decisive, supreme, not merely with one or another, but with all her enemies, banded together under the standard of unbelief and atheism; for by the elimination of intermediate shades of belief the world seems to become every

day more and more divided into two camps clearly defined and distinct, Catholicism on the one side and atheism on the other.

Nevertheless, the hopes of the Church for the twentieth century seem to be far more well-grounded than the dangers just recounted. This may be shown by various intrinsic and extrinsic proofs. Of course, we are now prescinding from Divine promises which dispel all uneasiness as regards the lot of the Church and assure us of her triumph over all her foes. We shall base our conclusions solely on the lessons of history and on facts transpiring before our eyes.

As for the teaching of history, suffice it to say that the Church throughout her marvellous career, stretched over nineteen centuries, has ever triumphed over all obstacles and all persecutions. The Roman Empire, which for three centuries sought to strangle her with a hand of iron; heresy, which employed every art to disrupt her harmony and unity; barbarian invasions and Islamism, which thought to crush her by brute force; feudalism, the effeminacy of the Renaissance and Cæsarism, which assailed her purity or her freedom—have been unable to shake her adamantine foundations. Great in prosperity, greater still in the fire of persecution, she surmounted every obstacle, swayed every event, and buried every foe. The past, therefore, is a guarantee of the future. She will prevail against modern Voltairianism, liberalism, rationalism; and this will come to pass sooner than we imagine; for it is the history of the Church that after ages of strife there comes a period of peace and calm. Even now it seems to us that we discern certain signs that are the harbingers of her triumph. One of the most striking is the change of ideas which is being wrought among men of culture who hitherto belonged to the ranks of unbelievers or enemies of the faith. A return to Christian principles, a return originating in the deep void made in heart and mind by doubt and unbelief, has for some time past, although it is still but vague and undetermined, been taking place among these men. They are beginning to understand, albeit as in an unsubstantial dream, that in the midst of the emptiness of all

modern theories there is only one body of doctrine that holds its own; that affords a solution of all public and private needs; that encompasses the history of mankind, and that in periods utterly dissimilar has given signal proof of its efficacy. Nor does it appear that the severity and inflexibility of our dogmas repel them; on the contrary, some minds, long tossed by doubt, feel all the more attracted by those truths because of their fixedness and unchangeableness, precisely as a mariner buffeted by an angry sea desires to reach a haven of safety and peace.

In England, where the philosophic systems of Stuart Mill, of Darwin, and of Spencer had been levelled at the faith, Mr. Balfour, one of the most eminent of statesmen, published not long since a work entitled *Foundations of Belief*, in which, after having shown the necessity of religion to meet the wants of the soul, he paid a magnificent tribute to the idea of the supernatural. In France, where certain great reviews once served as vehicles for the propagation of unbelief, Viscount de Vogué recently contributed to the *Revue des Deux Mondes* a series of articles on the grandeur and vitality of the Papacy, which some free-thinkers had fancied to be dead; M. Jules Lemaitre denounced Masonic irreligion as a scourge of society; and M. Brunétière, after having studied religion with the impartiality of a man not yet belonging to its ranks, delivered a striking discourse on the necessity of faith. "The need of faith," said he, "is an ingredient of our composition; it manifests itself in our entire conduct, and even in the operations of our intellect; it is the fruitful hope which our expiring century leaves as a legacy to the century about to dawn." Because of this *rapprochement* of the choicest minds with our holy religion, M. Ollé Laprune, in his *La Paix Intellectuelle*, justly says: "Modern thought is returning to Christ." But there are other more positive indications of a better future for the Church.

One of the most important is the moral ascendency, the authority and prestige that the Papacy, with which the Church is identified, is gradually acquiring. According to some, the spoliation of the Temporal Power meant the decadence of the Papacy; but that was to forget history. Though weaponless

and despoiled, the Pope speaks, acts, teaches, and governs the conscience of the world; for his authority rests on the profound convictions of minds, and convictions cannot be downed by force. On the contrary, they take fresh strength when he who inspires them is enveloped with the double aureola of his most high dignity and misfortune.

Another thing fraught with good omen is the condition of the Church's interior life, which, though ever capable of improvement, is far better than it was during the eighteenth century. This life is revealed through the charity and sanctity of the household of the faith. Perhaps at no previous time have there been in the upper grade of the ecclesiastical hierarchy such a spirit of union, so much holiness of life, and so great an attachment to the Apostolic See. And the same is true of the priesthood, which, tempered by persecution, is gradually resuming its place of honor in the spheres of science and literature; and above all, is edifying the world by its piety, discipline, love of neighbor, and the fulfilment of its ministry. Whilst the rebellious sects are disintegrating and crumbling, the admirable union of the Catholic priesthood with its bishops, and of the episcopate with the Pope, is a consoling sight; for from this union flow the strength, the order, and the uniformity of action found in the fair and peaceful army of the Church, the *acies ordinata.*

This army has, besides, been exceedingly strengthened by a multitude of new religious orders, worthy rivals of their predecessors in every species of virtue and evangelical perfection. In a truly astonishing manner the Church has been enriched with congregations of women especially, some of whom, by devoting their lives to teaching, are preparing for society virtuous wives and mothers; others are prodigies of activity and zeal in every work of Christian charity. Creatures of heaven rather than of earth, often unknown to the world, with their arms outstreched to every form of misery and their hearts open to every misfortune, they suffer privation, distress, and often death itself on the field of battle, in asylums for the aged or for helpless infants, in the melancholy sick-rooms of hospitals, and even in hamlets where lepers, cast forth by

society, drag out a dismal existence. Not long ago the Superioress-General of the Third Order of Franciscanesses of Mary, a congregation hardly twenty-five years old, announced to her spiritual daughters that a leper settlement in Japan was deprived of all human and spiritual assistance. The good Mother did not ask any of her religious to undertake a mission which usually results in the frightful disease of leprosy and, after a short period, death. She simply presented the facts of the case to them. Eight hundred sisters, though only ten were needed, asked as a favor to be allowed to give their youth and their lives for those wretched unfortunates.

These facts are not new in the history of the Church; but happening in a calculating, skeptical, and egotistical century, they produce a deep and wholesome impression even on unbelievers. This was the case with Maxime du Camp, who, after describing the works of Catholic charity in Paris, concluded that in the maze of life faith is still the best guide, and that we must bow down before a religion that can inspire such heroic deeds. And the positivist philosopher, Hippolyte Taine, who exercised such influence on the French mind, wound up his long literary career by paying homage to the sincere fervor and progress of the religious calling; and he bowed down respectfully before this flowering of Catholicity which has burst forth to the edification and salvation of mankind.[4]

Yet another presage of better days is the remarkable reawakening of piety and faith among the simple faithful. To lukewarmness, to want of courage, and particularly to human respect have—thank God—succeeded in the ranks of our laity, firmness of purpose, nobility and stability of character, as well as a frankness in the public profession of our holy principles.

The exterior vitality of the Church keeps pace with the interior. Our intrepid and heroic missionaries who, in 1789, were not more than three hundred in number, now, according to a recent report of M. Le Roy, amount, taking male and

[4] *Cf.* article on "The Church in France," published in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, a short time before Taine's death.

female religious, to more than 70,000; and within the space of a century they have contributed to the foundation of 430 dioceses or vicariates. More than two-thirds of these apostles of religion and civilization come from France, which had been the source of the propagation of revolution and Voltairianism. In the great republic of the United States of America, in England, Scotland, Germany, Switzerland, Holland, and even in Sweden, Norway, and Denmark, as also among the schismatics of the East, notable and consoling progress has been made by the Catholic Church.

What is more, the work that Europe is now accomplishing throughout Africa, Asia, and Oceanica, by exploring and occupying unknown lands, by penetrating into regions hitherto sealed up, and by bringing the dense populations that inhabit them into communication with the continent of Europe, is a fact of prime importance. It betokens a vast design of God, and fills us with well-grounded hope that at a not distant day those numerous yellow and dark-skinned races will swell the ranks of our holy religion. Our incomparable missionaries have already enthusiastically engaged in the arduous and perilous undertaking, and have established little, but fervent, centres of Christianity which will be the first blossoms of a glorious springtime. Everything leads us to believe that the great educator of the people, the Catholic Church, will be equal to the task of transforming those aboriginal races and of bringing them the blessings of religion and civilization, as she did in other times for races not less uncivilized and barbarous.

And thus, in God's Providence, it will come to pass that those geographical and scientific inventions, that facility and rapidity of communication of nation with nation, all the various and far-reaching discoveries of modern times in which mankind has prided itself, and of which it has often proposed to avail itself, in order to dispense with the Creator, will contribute to a more extensive and speedy spread of the glad tidings, and of the reign of God upon earth.

The enumeration of the signs of a better future might be carried to much greater length, but we abstain, lest the

reader's patience become exhausted. We may remark, however, that, in view of the splendid unity and vigor of the Church, the dangers mentioned above do not overwhelm us with apprehension. The times are, it is true, extraordinary and momentous. They forebode profound social and political transformation. But it is also certain that the Church, preserving indeed her dogmas unchanged,—and in this her chief strength lies,—knows, nevertheless, how to put forth her strength, under all circumstances of time and place, precisely because she was established by the Saviour of the world for all times and all places. She spoke Greek in Athens and Latin in Rome. She dressed her tent in the midst of barbarians and of cultured nations. She adapted her discipline and laws to every political condition of men, and, provided the rights of truth and justice do not suffer, she is ready to take all nations to her bosom, and compass them about with light and love.

According to some, the next century will be the century of democracy. There will be no discord between the Church and democracy, if the latter properly interpret the great principles of equality, fraternity, and liberty on which it is based. Indeed, these principles are the beautiful and glorious conquest of our Redeemer and His Church over the ancient world.

In the opinion of others, the next century will be one of formidable struggle and of immense ruins piled up by socialism and anarchy. This forecast is unhappily too well grounded, as we have said above, and it fills the soul of every thoughtful man with deep dismay. But it must be borne in mind that the Church alone has the true key to social problems, since only she possesses the exact and unchangeable conception of justice and inexhaustible treasures of charity. And it is consoling to see already that fear of the approaching tornado, which threatens an upheaval of nations, is having the effect of provoking saner reflections in the minds of men, who, under normal conditions, would never have attributed to the benign influence of religion any social importance. Many of these are now convinced

and openly confess that, even in our day, religion continues to be the most powerful stay of morality and order, the strongest bulwark of property, authority, and the family; and that a people, as the celebrated Le Play concluded, lives by religious belief and dies of its unbelief. Now, when such convictions will have been more widely diffused, when nations will have better understood that in the Church they will ever find a friend and protectress, a fountain of justice and civil peace, then the reign of anti-Christian, anti-social societies will be near its downfall, and the spirit of the Gospel, which these same sects have striven to exclude from civil institutions, will enter them in spite of all opposition. This is not a prophecy; it is a conclusion drawn from logic and history; for the life of nations is, and ever will be, governed by moral law, and moral law must ever spring from the doctrines of religion. Moreover, when these religious doctrines are the purest and sublimest conceivable by the human mind; when they fit in with all the harmonies, wants, and noble aspirations of the soul, they guarantee the Church—their depository—indefectible authority, victorious and triumphant might. The Church will triumph over the rationalism and atheism of the age, because the world without religion is a world without the sun, an orphaned world, a world tracing its steps back to barbarism, as Maxime du Camp has said. The Church will triumph, because without religion man is incomplete and maimed, as M. de Salvandy said before the French Academy in 1854; and the country that disowns the Church, so much a part of its own power and genius, has not all its strength, all its light, all its greatness. The Church will triumph, because contemporary society will be forced to take the alternative of either returning to Christian principles, or of suffering interminable and bloody upheavals; and finally, because in the human heart, even though corrupt, there is a substratum of goodness, and man, bearing the impress of the light of God's face, is naturally impelled to the love of Christ. "Infancy," wrote Monsignor Darboy, the ill-fated and heroic Archbishop of Paris, "adores Christ as God and loves Him as a brother; the maiden gives

Him her heart to preserve it undefiled; the mother calls down His blessing on the heads of her children; many, indeed, forget Him and offend Him; but, by maturity of thought and by the tranquil light of life's evening, the old man is attracted to Christ again. . . . The cross of Christ, a lesson in courage and a badge of honor, the terror of triumphant crime, and the prop of down-trodden virtue, that weak and abandoned cross still remains the most venerated and the most powerful of all earthly things. Fixed on the summit of society, it shines with a splendor that no other glory can equal, and is worshipped as no other greatness could aspire to."

But to conclude. Some of our readers may deem our presage of better times to be the product of buoyant hope. Let this reflection weigh in our favor, that the hope which we cherish is entirely in behalf of the Church, and that we can never be oversanguine in the case of an institution which was never nearer victory than when persecuted and oppressed. Let this reflection also be pleaded in our favor, that discouragement unnerves the soul and stifles strong and generous purpose; whereas hope revives, inflames, redoubles our power for good.

To accelerate the Church's triumph there are at our disposal two powerful means. The one is an increase of activity and zeal in behalf of the Church, for God wishes us to be effective co-workers with Him in the spread of His Kingdom in this world. The other is incessant, ardent prayer that He may hasten the hour of His mercy towards us and our strayed and scattered brethren. And it is with universal, extraordinary, and solemn prayer to Christ, our Redeemer, that the Catholic world, by the initiative of illustrious and zealous prelates and the blessing and encouragement of the Holy Father, will close this century and solemnize the commencement of the next. This will be a prayer of homage, of gratitude, of love, of reparation to the Immortal King of ages; to the Supreme Monarch of all nations; to the Author and Perfector of our faith; to Him who embodies in Himself and sanctifies all the sufferings of men; to Him who alone is the Truth, the Resurrection, and the Life.

Who can say what treasures of grace and mercy this universal cry of repentance, this immense appeal for pity and pardon, will obtain from His loving and fatherly Heart when they have risen up to His throne from the whole family of the faithful and reëchoed from every shore of the seas, from every city and from every mountain of the earth? Let us then lift up our hearts, aspirations, and hopes! "Apud Dominum misericordia et copiosa apud Eum Redemptio."

About eighty years ago Count Joseph de Maistre, with a profound insight into the future, penned these memorable words: "If the eighteenth century closed with an insensate and blasphemous proclamation of man's rights over God, the nineteenth will terminate with a proclamation of God's rights over man." This prediction is—thanks be to God—being fulfilled under our eyes; its accomplishment is a fact full of consolation and hope, and completely confirmatory of the stand taken in the present pages; for it is a fresh and luminous sign of halcyon days in store for the Church. *Fiat! Fiat!*

Rome, Italy. DOMINIC CARDINAL FERRATA.

THE TRUE AND THE FALSE MYSTICISM.

II.

THE object of mystical contemplation of whatever degree, from the ordinary Christian's simple act of love to the ecstasies of the saints, is God—God as He reveals Himself in His action upon the soul, whether acting immediately as First Cause, or mediately through His creatures. To know God in Himself, that is, in His substance, apart from His effects; not merely to know Him as the Source and Cause of the affections He produces in our mind and heart, but to know what He is in Himself in the same way that we know His effects, and as though He Himself were an effect, is really a contradictory notion; yet the expression covers the mystery of that union of the beatified spirit with God in Himself, which we call knowledge or

vision simply by analogy and for want of any other term, even as we speak of mind-knowledge in terms of bodily sight. But on earth, God can be contemplated only as the hidden source of His works, even as the soul only knows herself by her manifestations, her actions and reactions, but in no wise in her substance and inner perfection. And the manner in which we advance in the truer knowledge and love of our own soul, and acquire a certain laudable habit of self-contemplation, is not only illustrative of, but very intimately connected with, a like advance in the contemplative love of God. For, indeed, the soul is the mirror wherein, according as its capacities are more and more unfolded and realized, we see the fullest finite revelation of God. We cannot understand any personality except so far as by a sort of dramatic power we can take it upon ourselves, clothe ourselves with it, and in our imagination put ourselves into that other's place and mood and condition. We may, indeed, conceive a notion of goodness and excellence far beyond our own by, as it were, multiplying and purifying that of which we are conscious in ourselves; but we cannot imaginatively realize such a notional conception, except so far as we are at least remotely capable of attaining to it ourselves. Whatever be the multiplier—finite, or infinite—self is, after all, our highest unit of perfection. We cannot *realize* anything better than what we know ourselves to be in ideal and capacity, and it is on our *realization*, not upon our abstract notion, of God's perfection that our love of Him depends.

Day by day we advance from imperfect to more perfect self-consciousness and sense of individuality in proportion as the latent activities of our soul are called into fuller and more varied play and slowly revealed to us. We find out by degrees what we can do, what we can know, what we can love, and what therefore we must *be* ourselves who can fit and be fitted to, who can comprehend and pass beyond all these objects of thought and love and action. We *are* in the moral order what we love; we cleave to our like; atom to atom, and thought to thought. To love justice is to be just; to

love chastity is to be chaste. Is not the poet's love of Nature an index of a fair soul, even if we do not go so far as to say that he imparts that beauty to Nature from his own soul? Whatever delights us, that we are, if not effectually, at least in aspiration; we find it all within ourselves, or else something which answers to it and surpasses it.

Yet though derived from an infinite variety of manifestations, the notion we have of "self" from first to last is pure and simple, albeit ever growing in richness and depth of color. It is not a jumble or heaping together of all our self-experiences, though every one of them has contributed to its making. It is not the effect of a confused view of all our remembered acts of knowledge and love and effort, such a conglomeration as the sense-school would have us think it. It is rather a simple impression which remains after its innumerable causes have vanished from existence and from memory, and which can be resuscitated in their absence. Our gratitude towards a persistent benefactor is created by the sum of his favors, but in itself a simple sentiment which endures when the favors are out of sight and even largely forgotten in detail. So as to our sentiment towards self, and our notion of self. The more we get from ourselves in the way of intelligence and love and goodness, the clearer and deeper is our notion, the fuller and richer is our love of that hidden source, that self from which all this proceeds. What we know and what we love is not any or all of these manifestations, but that simple unit which is manifested. Thus, as the word "mother," standing always for the same simple personality, means indefinitely less for the wailing infant than for the grown son who crowds into it the sentiment generated by years of affectionate intercourse; so the "I" of dawning consciousness differs in volume of meaning, from the "I" of mature years.

> But as he grows, he gathers much,
> And learns the use of "I" and "me,"
> That "I" am not the things I see
> And other than the things I touch.

And the more he sees and touches and opposes to himself

as "other" and "not-self," the fuller and deeper is his consciousness of both what is included and what is excluded by this same "I."

Now as from the continual study of the works of an author whom we have never seen, a certain simple idea of his personality shapes itself in our mind, derived but distinct from the ideas of his various productions, so from repeated meditations upon God's works and ways and revelation, a similarly simple and concrete impression of the hidden Divinity is formed within us; the word "God," whose sense was at first vague and thin, becomes big with full and definite meaning, not by an addition of new parts and "notes" as in the case of complex notions that are pieced together by the mind; nor by analysis and dissection, as when a complexity is first apprehended confusedly and then examined in its several details; but as a dim light intensifies, or as a pale uncertain color deepens and defines itself, or as a feeling of gratitude or of loyalty or any other affection attendant on some apprehension grows with it in tone and strength. For our estimate of a personality is as simple and undefinable an impression as color, or sound, or heat, or cold. However multiple be the experiences which created it, yet they are not its constituent factors, but its causes; and if there may be much common to the several groups of experiences in two or more cases, yet the resultant impression, being simple, is in each case absolutely distinct and undefinable.[1] Scientific theology builds up what is properly a "notion" of God part by part, just as a critic might sit down and describe Shakespeare's character from his works, building up the word-picture, part by part, into a complex whole. And one might in either case follow intelligently all that was said, and yet *realize* nothing, just because the description is an image, not of the simple impression of the personality, but of the many causes which in combination give birth to that impression.

The great aim of the spiritual life, whether in the ordinary Christian or in the professed contemplative, is by observation,

[1] A B C and A B D have A B in common; but if each yields a *simple* result, these results will be as unclassifiable as C and D.

meditation, and reflection to enrich the significance of the word "God," to crowd ever more and more meaning into its simplicity; so that this very thought alone, apart from all reference to the sources whence it is born and nourished, may evoke a correspondingly simple affection which may be viewed as faith, or hope, or love, according to the circumstances in which it manifests itself. It will be readily admitted by many that man reaches his best in bringing his mind and affections into most perfect harmony with the world of his experience; in slowly building up in his mind an ever fuller, more coherent, and more truthful image of the "all" so far as revealed to him; in contemplating that resulting image with the worthiest and deepest feelings of humble awe, wonder, praise, and love. But in truth this is but a means to another and better conception, through which the mind brings forth in itself an idea, or image, or word of God, in the contemplative love of which it finds its best and most unselfish happiness.

But if the bare thought of a thing delights us, much more will the reality. Were God the mere dream of a poet's brain, such dreaming would make life worth living; yet that worth were but a shadow of the solid, all-satisfying joy which springs from the knowledge that God *is*, and that the reality transcends all dreams that He has given us the power of dreaming. "*Jesu, dulcis memoria*," says St. Bernard,—"*Dans vera eordis gaudia*,"

> Jesu, the very thought of Thee
> Can thrill the heart with ecstasy.

But he goes on: "*Sed super mel et omnia, Ejus dulcis praesentia*"—

> But O what sweetness would it be,
> To feel that Thou wert close to me!

For if the idea, the shadow of absent reality, can at times ravish the soul to itself and absorb all other consciousness, far more potent is the present substance of that reality. Even though I know nothing more of an author when I am brought face to face with him than the impression already derived from his works, yet his presence inspires me with a far stronger and more vivid sentiment than I should derive from the mere

thought of him; and in like manner a keen realization of the intimate nearness and presence of God in one's own soul, as well as in Nature, makes contemplative acts much more possible, frequent, and sustained than they would be were they dependent simply on the idea or memory of God.

All previous processes, therefore, of asking, seeking, knocking; all our observings, reasonings, reflections upon God's works and doings are valuable chiefly as disposing and preparing us for those moments in which we simply rest and gaze upon the fruit of our labors, upon the simple thought of God Himself which has been slowly generated within us.

In every case the act of love is at least incipiently ecstatic. Were it only a fair landscape, or a sunset, or a dramatic crisis, the mere contemplative joy will in a measure take us out of ourselves and absorb all our consciousness to the annihilation of time. Still more when the sole thought of God has gradually gathered to itself as to a centre all the interest and affection attendant upon whatever goodness or lovableness is formed in the innumerable creatures, in which He manifests Himself, will the mind at times be fascinated to the oblivion of self and of all beside.

As to ecstasy, it is to be noticed, in passing, that it was an error of the Neo-Platonists to treat it almost as the act of a distinct faculty of the mind; distinct from reason or intuition, as reason is from memory; a faculty perhaps latent in all, but undeveloped in most, and the development of which was the mystic's chief aim. But this was to mistake an action of a recognized type, varied and in some sense we might say, vitiated, by an accidental circumstance, for a new and supernatural kind of action. For, understanding by ecstasy the entire absorption of consciousness by some vivid object to the destruction of explicit self-consciousness and of all sense of time or of other things, it certainly implies a great intensity of affection and reality of vision in respect to that particular object; but it is not a point of perfection but rather of imperfection that it should destroy consciousness of self and other things.

Darkness is not light. This defect is to be ascribed to the limited nature of our attention, which must be withdrawn from one point if it is to be concentrated on another. We cannot, therefore, suppose that the Beatific Vision of the Saints is strictly ecstatic; on the contrary, there will be the fullest and most perfect self-knowledge and self-consciousness coexisting with the vision of God. For that joy lies in the consciousness of the perfect harmony between God and the soul; of the soul's inmost nature designed to be a receptacle of Divinity, and of God as now filling that receptacle with Himself. It is not a sense of oneness and confusion, or a mere sense of God, but a sense of harmony, of two in one, or rather of many in one, of distinct "otherness" in personality and of ineffable "sameness" in mind, love, and life. And as this future consummation of the mystical life is utterly antagonistic to that destruction of personal distinctness and absorption into original nothingness which is the goal of Oriental and even Neo-Platonic aspiration, so the very element of ecstasy which commended it to that school, namely, the element of unself-consciousness, is precisely that which prejudices it in the eyes of the Christian mystic; while contrariwise, what commends it to the latter is the intense consciousness of God which occasions the defect in question; whereas what the others seek is not intense wakefulness of the soul, but the quiet of just conscious slumber, the sense of insentience. Thus while the Buddhist allows no ecstasy without sanctity, and no sanctity without ecstasy, the Christian never regards ecstasy as more than a psychical accident, or as even of any particular value as an index of sanctity. For though commonly and roughly it denotes an abnormal intensity of the interior act and, as such, is of frequent occurrence with saints and contemplatives, yet it may very often be simply the result of psychical weakness; while in stronger souls the more intense love may well be perfectly self-possessed and unecstatic. In fine, abstraction, no less than distraction, is a result not of the strength but of the limitation of the human mind.

It may also be noticed that, though sometimes the mere

thought of a personality, apart from all reference to any or all of the self-manifestations through which it has become known to us, is a full and sufficient object of intuition and affection; yet more commonly it is by some one or more of these self-manifestations that we are wakened to such recognition and love. Dante is for me a distinct flavor unlike any other; and this perception I can evoke without any conscious reference to any or all of the causes which gave birth to it. Yet undoubtedly it is far more real and vivid and durable when he is, as it were, seen in action or heard in self-utterance. Similarly, for the most part, we need the aid of creatures not only to generate the idea of God within us, but to resuscitate it vividly in memory; we need to view Him in and behind this or that particular manifestation of goodness, wisdom, power, mercy, love, or as clothed with the garment of the entire universe. But it is the peculiarity of the Saints and mystics to be at last independent of these images and instances, and to be drawn directly to the simple thought of God and held there spell-bound, like a wasp so absorbed in the sweetness of the honey as to be unconscious of the severance of its own body.

Yet it is part of the economy of the Incarnation to minister to the deepest needs of our double nature—of this embodied spirit which embodies its purest thought in images derived from the senses; which embodies its purest love in the warmth of sensible emotion; which speaks and is spoken to through the symbolism of things seen and heard and handled with the hands. If a hatred and contempt of matter and of the body and all connected with it, as proceeding from the principle of evil, characterizes Gnostics, Neo-Platonists, Manicheans, Catharists, Puritans, and kindred schools, it is distinctive of Christ and Catholic Christianity to recognize body and soul as created and united by God, each in His image and likeness; to view the flesh as the sacrament and expression of the spirit, as the veil through which the spirit is to be approached, informed, elevated, sanctified. For this cause the Word was made Flesh, that in Him we might see the Divinity as far as it can possibly be expressed in

finite human nature—the highest created Word of God, which we can realize and understand. "He that hath seen Me hath seen the Father."

Thus the Sacred Humanity of Mary's Son gives our imagination a figure, wherein we can clothe that "sense of God" which has been formed in our heart and intelligence. Perforce we must either picture God to ourselves man-wise, or else we must call into our imagination some manifestation of His Presence—the fire, or the storm, or the sunset, or the ocean, if we are to steady our mind in its operation. In the Man Christ we can really see God with our imagination, and also see what is the fullest finite revelation of the Divine Love, the form of a servant wherewith God clothed Himself and suffered that He might woo and win the human soul in its own language.

To discard all such imaging of God was a point of perfection with the body-loathing Neo-Platonist; but the Christian mystic uses thankfully and gratefully the help which God's gracious condescension has provided for him in the sacramental subjection of matter to mind, instituted in the very first creation of things and perfected by the Incarnation.

"The School," says Paul Sabatier,[2] "is always more or less the gateway to mysticism; it is possible only to an elect of subtile mind; a pious peasant seldom understands the *Imitation*." This is certainly true to a large extent of Neo-Platonic mysticism, and of some Christian mystics who have been entangled in that system; also, it is perfectly evident that whatever cultivates the mind aids in securing the natural conditions for contemplation. Still some of the most noted Christian contemplatives have been void of all scholasticism and mental training, and all have approached God through the veil of the Sacred Humanity. Nay, this is Jacob's ladder making an open causeway between earth and heaven, bridging over the else impassable gulf, and making accessible to the poor and simple heights never before ambitioned but by the wise and prudent.

The sweetness of the Divine Love as revealed in the

[2] *Life of St. Francis*, Chap. VIII.

Crucified Humanity has spoken more in one single word to many a pure, childlike heart than all the gathered experience and reflection of the wisest could utter. A Kempis speaks to God and listens to God, but it is the God-Man, Christ; for he wrote with a faith far other than Sabatier's, in an age when "God" meant Christ, and summoned up at once the face of the Son of Mary. The *Imitation* may not be the form in which a peasant would express his mystical commerce with God, or under which he would recognize it; but experience is one thing and the successful expression and analysis of that experience is another.

And now we are in a position to deal with some objections to the whole theory and possibility of such contemplation as we have been speaking of. In a chapter on *Plato and the Doctrine of Rest*, one who fairly represents in this matter a large school of current thought, rightly blaming the excesses of the reaction against the Heraclitean doctrine of universal flux, inclines to a contrary excess where he says: "Motion discredited, motion gone, all was gone that belonged to an outward and concrete experience, thus securing exclusive validity to the sort of knowledge, if knowledge it is to be called, which corresponds to the 'Pure Being,' that colorless, formless, impalpable existence—*οὐσία ἀχρώματος ἀναφής*—to use the words of Plato."

Again, speaking of "a very abstract, and as it may seem disinterested, certainly uninteresting notion of deity, which is in truth—well! one of the dry sticks of mere natural theology, as it is called," he says: "To think of the deity you must think of it as neither here nor there; then, nor now; you must away with all limitations of time and space and matter, nay, with the very conditions and the limitations of thought itself; apparently not observing that to think of it in this way was in reality not to think of it at all:—that, in short, Being so pure as this, is pure Nothing." And again: "That most abstract and arid of formulæ, *Pure Being*, closed in indifferently on every side upon itself, and suspended in the midst of nothing, like a hard transparent crystal ball." Finally: "The

European mind . . . will never be quite sane again. It has been put on a quest (vain quest it may prove to be) after a kind of knowledge perhaps not properly attainable. Hereafter in every age someone will be found to start afresh, quixotically, through what wastes of words! in search of that true Substance, the One, the Absolute, which to the majority of acute people is after all but zero, and a mere algebraic symbol for nothingness. . . . That strange passion for non-entity, to which the Greek was so oddly liable, to which the human mind generally might be thought to have been constitutionally predisposed; for the doctrine of 'The One' had come to the surface before, in old Indian dreams of self-annihilation, which had been revived in the second century after Christ, in the ecstasies (ecstasies of the pure spirit leaving the body behind it) recommended by the Neo-Platonists; and again in the Middle Age, as a finer shade of Christian experience, in the mystic doctrines of Eckhart and Tauler, concerning that union which can only be attained by the literal negation of self, by a kind of moral suicide; of which something also may be found under the cowl of the monk, in the clear, cold, inaccessible, impossible heights of the book of the *Imitation*."[3] "It is no vague scholastic abstraction that will satisfy the speculative instinct in our modern minds. Who would change the color or curve of a rose-leaf for the οὐσία ἀχρώματος ἀσχημάτιστος ἀναφής—that colorless, formless, intangible being—Plato put so high? For the true illustration of the speculative temper is not the Hindoo mystic, lost to sense, understanding, individuality, but one such as Goethe, to whom every moment of life brought its contribution of experimental individual knowledge, by whom no touch of the world of form, color, and passion was disregarded."[4]

All this criticism loses sight of a verbally subtle but really vast distinction between two senses of the term *Pure Being*. For it may stand for the last residue of a process of abstraction by which we eliminate, one by one, the differences of things, retaining only what is common; until when every

[3] *Plato and Platonism*, Ed. 1896, pp. 25, 27, 28, 32.
[4] Pater's *Appreciations* (Coleridge).

positive determination of an idea has been obliterated nothing remains but the empty frame of a thought. "Pure Being" in this sense is what can be predicated of everything when we want to affirm as little as possible about it, to assert that it is "not nothing" (*nonnihil*), "mere being." This, the emptiest of all concepts, is infinitely universal just because of its very blankness. Its "purity" is simply negative. Determination or definition both includes and excludes; and the more it includes, the less it excludes. When the inclusion is minimized to a point or zero, then we have this negative notion of Pure Being; but when the inclusion circles out to infinity and when this boundless content is, as it were, fused into one simple perfection—the transcending equivalent of all—then we have the positive conception of Pure Being.

In this positive sense, Pure Being is the most concrete of all conceptions; the result not of abstraction, but of composition; it means the infinite Fulness of Being, and not the indefinite Emptiness of Being. It is not, however, a confused agglomeration of all the perfections and excellences that we see in God's works, in the physical, moral, and spiritual orders; for of these, many are contrary to one another and cannot coexist in one and the same subject; but it is the conception of the simple source whence all these things flow and which must contain and infinitely transcend them all. In that subsistent Perfection all these finite perfections exist in their purity, that is to say, freed from their limits and determinations so far as these are exclusive of further perfection. There is nothing more strange in our forming within ourselves a notion of God as the hidden source of all being—a notion growing ever richer and deeper as our experience of being enlarges—than in our forming a similarly simple notion of any unknown worker from his manifold works, or of our own secret self from our multitudinous self-manifestations; nor could any conception be less happily described as "colorless, formless, impalpable," "abstract," "uninteresting,"—it being the very contrary of all these. Simple it is, and insoluble into parts; not however with the barren simplicity of a point, but with that of a pure color or of an intense brightness. For as a pure color is to the eye, so

is Pure Being, so is God, to the whole soul. If by "Pure Being" we mean the "emptiness of all definite qualification," then it is "neither here nor there," because it is nowhere; but if we mean the Fulness of Being, then it is "neither here nor there" because it is everywhere; and it is neither "then or now" because it is "everywhen;" and similarly of all contrary and incompatible perfection, it is neither one nor the other, but equivalently and surpassingly both. How these contraries are united in their source we cannot imagine distinctly; but surely nothing is more conceivable. Even in nature we see how, for example, man, who is neither mere inorganic matter, nor a plant, nor an animal, gathers all the excellences of these things into a simple unity of a higher order.

Now, as being at the two extreme poles of thought, these opposite conceptions of "Pure Being" enjoy not only the same name, but have many other attributions in common, always, however, understood positively in one case, negatively in the other. Void and Fulness alike are infinite, pure, indeterminable, incomprehensible, ineffable, but in contrary ways and for contrary reasons.

This being so, it is not wonderful if unskilful thinkers and speakers frequently slip unconsciously from one sense to the other, and so confound all things; nor can it be denied that Christian mystics and contemplatives have frequently failed in the analysis of their own mental processes and have laid themselves open to the false charge of nihilism.

Mr. Pater speaks of "the sort of knowledge—if knowledge it is to be called—which corresponds to the 'Pure Being,'" and opposes it to "an outward and concrete experience," and here we must agree with him in his depreciation of the pseudo-mystic contemplation whose object is this void concept, while dissenting from his supposition that there is no true contemplative knowledge, answering to the positive idea of the Fulness of Being.

The mental act of vision which has for its term that mere skeleton of a thought, with its zero of depth and its infinite monotonous waste of extent, can indeed scarcely be called knowledge at all, fed as it is by the mere husks that remain after every

grain of qualification has been extracted from our ideas. In that act of contemplation the mind most nearly attains to conscious annihilation. To think of "nothing," or to see nothing, is the same as not to think, not to see, except so far as "nothing" is invested with a fictitious entity by the mind itself; for the word "nothing" and the idea of "nothing" is something, and can be thought about. In complete unconsciousness there can be no *sense* of rest and quiet; just as we do not enjoy being sound asleep, but only being on the hither or further verge of sound sleep. Could the mind be fixed ecstatically on the void thought of mere *Being*, its activity would be brought to the lowest ebb, to the very verge of unconsciousness, to a sense of negative rest and quiet. Now this is the pseudo-mysticism of the East, and of the quietists of all times and varieties; of those "old Indian dreams of self-annihilation" of which Mr. Pater speaks. The Buddhist, however, unlike the Christian quietist, starts with a principle which justifies all his ideas of asceticism and mysticism. If all evil and suffering be from desire, and if desire be the necessary expression of separate existence, then separate existence is an evil to be suppressed, and self-obliteration, physical and mental, the repression of distinct thought and desire by the concentration of the mind on the thought of that void, or mere Being, from which we are differenced as ripples from the infinite ocean-plane, is the nearest way to happiness; to the restful consciousness that we are obeying our destiny. Existence is evil, matter is evil, desire is evil, thought is evil—this is the principle that justifies Oriental asceticism and mysticism.

Manifestly it is no easy task to fix the mind's gaze on a thought so void of all interest or attractiveness as is that of mere Being-in-general; as long as there is anything more concrete and full within the field of vision the attention will be spontaneously arrested by the latter, unless the will offers a violent opposition and exerts pressure upon the mind.

Hence such mystics strive as far as possible to empty the mind of all that could disturb or distract it in the way of rational interest or affection or external occupation, and to procure the stillness and retirement needed for so difficult a feat of concen-

tration, much as we shut our eyes and ears when we desire to bring all our attention to bear on some faint impression or memory. It is because the interest and attractiveness of this barrenest of conceptions is so weak, and cannot in the nature of things be strengthened (since unlike the positive conception of Pure Being, it does not admit of intensification), that a conscious effort is needed to counteract the spontaneous impulse of the mind to fix itself on any more concrete and interesting object. Doubtless the negative hypnotic rest which ensues when all full consciousness is focussed upon this mere point of intelligibility and withdrawn from self and everything else, has the attraction of narcotics and sedatives, which apart from other motives may reward the labor and mortification needed for this voluntary self-extinction; yet it is not an attraction which, like the fervent love of the saints, prevails over every other, but one which can only prevail in so far as all competitors are carefully excluded.

But the mental act which has for its term that richest of all thoughts, "the Fulness of Being," with its indefinite depths of meaning combined with supreme concentration and simplicity, is "knowledge" in the highest and fullest sense of the word; it is the tranquil resting of the mind in the all-satisfying fruit of its labors, in the truth won at the cost of thinking and comparing and putting together. If to gaze into void is the nearest thing to not thinking at all, to contemplate Fulness is the fullest of all thoughts, the most intense action or self-realization of the soul.

In the measure that the simple thought and name of God grows fuller and more crowded with compressed meaning, it will acquire a greater power of distracting the attention from other things to itself; less and less effort will be needed for these elevations and excesses of the mind, till, as in the case of the greater saints, involuntary ecstasy in which the whole consciousness is gathered into and absorbed by this one thought, realizes a foretaste of the absolute unchanging rest of the face-to-face vision in Heaven. In such an act there is no process, no comparison, no building up or dissecting, but simply the perpetuated wonder and joy of the first shock of vision; and as time goes for nothing when we are conscious but of one thing, there

can be no sense of weariness or satiety. Of this contemplative rest and joy in the thought of God St. Augustine writes:

"Very sweetly did we speak there alone, and 'forgetting things past we stretched forward in thought to the future' and sought between ourselves from that present Truth (which Thou art), of what kind that eternal life of the saints would be—'which eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor hath it entered into man's heart to conceive.'

"But with our hearts' mouth we were panting for the supernal streams from Thy fountain—that 'fountain of life which is with Thee,' that bedewed thence, according to the measure of our ability, we might in some way master so great a thought.

"And when our discourse had brought us to the conclusion that no pleasure of the bodily senses, how intense soever, or in whatever brilliancy of natural light enjoyed, could seem worthy of mention, let alone comparison, beside the joyousness of that Life, raising ourselves thereunto with still more ardent desire, we passed in order upwards through all bodily things into the very heaven whence the sun, the moon, and the stars shine down upon the earth. And then we rose still higher by internal thought, speaking of Thee and marvelling at Thy works. And then we came to our own minds and passed up beyond them that we might arrive at that land of unfailing richness where with the pasture of Truth Thou feedest Israel for ever, and where 'Life' means that Wisdom by which all these things which have been, and shall be, are made; yet itself is not made, but is, even as it was and ever shall be; though more properly 'was' and 'shall be' are not found therein, but only 'is,' since it is eternal. For the eternal knows not 'was' and 'shall be.'

"And as we were thus speaking and straining after it, for a moment we touched it with the whole force of our heart, and gave a sigh; and then leaving this sheaf of the first-fruits of the spirit there we wandered back to the tumult of our lips to the word which hath beginning and end. For what is like unto Thy Word, our Lord, which abideth unaging in Itself and reneweth all things?

"We were saying then that were the uproar of one's passions silenced for him, and were the dreams of earth, air, and ocean silenced; and the heavens silenced; and were the very soul silenced to herself, passing out beyond herself and not thinking of herself; and were all visions and pictorial revelations silenced; and all language, and every symbol, and were everything whose very existence is a passing away, altogether silenced for one; for if one listens these are always saying:

'We made not ourselves, but He that abideth for ever hath made us'—having said thus much, were they forthwith to be silent, straining their listening ears unto Him who hath made them; and were He Himself to speak alone, not through them but by Himself, so that we should hear His word, not uttered with bodily tongue, nor through the voice of an angel, nor through thunder from the clouds, nor through riddle or parable, but were we to hear, apart from these, Himself whom we love in these, and as now we stretch upward and with lightning thought just touch that Eternal Wisdom that abideth over all; could this touch be prolonged, and could all other visions as of an infinitely lower kind be withdrawn, so that this one alone might snatch to itself and swallow up and bury its beholder in its most secret joys, and were the unending life to be of the same kind as that moment of intuition for which we sighed, would not this be 'entering into the joy of Thy Lord.' *Et istud quando?* And this, O when?"[5]

No words could more aptly or beautifully explain the act by which "the soul eternes itself," whether in some brief vision of God as known through creation, or in the unending face-to-face contemplation of the Blessed in Heaven. As the mirror is filled with and becomes the image of what it reflects, so the soul that sees God brings forth in itself the likeness of God: "When He shall appear we shall be like Him, for we shall see Him as He is." Our whole end in life is to bring forth this image or word of God in our thought more and more fully and perfectly; to see God; to know God, not with a notional, speculative knowledge such as a man might have of what he has never felt or even imagined, but with a real knowledge that comes of intimate contact, as real as our knowledge of our own personality which we cannot doubt, yet cannot analyze or define.

And this "real" knowledge of God is inseparably accompanied by love. For it is to the whole soul what a harmony, or a fragrance, or a rich color is to the particular sense in question—an object which, by eliciting a full and perfect act of perception, causes rest and satisfaction and joy. And in the love of God, and of things god-like and divine, all virtue and holiness is summed up.

[5] Aug. *Conf.*, L. IX, c. x.

But for us here on earth this love of things god-like and divine, this rest and repose of the mind, as it realizes in itself and contemplates the existence of justice, truth, order, beauty, and all manner of goodness, and of Divine self-manifestation in finite things, is not so much a consequence as a cause of the love of God, that is, of the joyful repose of the mind as it contemplates the existence of God, in whom justice, truth, order, beauty, and all manner of goodness subsists in absolute simplicity, and infinite perfection.

We are not as those Blessed ones who see God's face directly, and who are therefore reminded of it by every hint and suggestion of that Beauty which is reflected from the meanest creature upon which He has lifted up the light of His countenance. We are not carried back in thought to something already experienced, but forward to something as yet only dimly imagined and hoped for. We begin by loving these scattered rays of Divine Beauty before we can focus them to a point in which their brilliancy is concentrated, or trace them upwards as they converge to their common source above. We have no "real" knowledge of God whatever in this life except so far as we have tasted and loved his sweetness as shared by creatures, and have referred all to Him as to the first author.

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THE SIBYLLINE BOOKS IN THE LIGHT OF CHRISTIAN ANTIQUITY.

Dies irae, dies illa
Solvet saeclum in favilla
Teste David cum *Sibylla*.

THE question has frequently been proposed—who was this Sibyl of which the poet speaks in the liturgical hymn chanted at the solemn services of our dead? Was she a prophetess moved by a divine afflatus akin to that of the royal seer with whose name her own is coupled? The works of the early Christian apologists abound in allusions to the Sibyl and

the Sibylline oracles; yet the all too minute accuracy of time, place, and circumstance which characterizes these predictions, as given, for instance, in the works of Lactantius, arouses suspicion regarding their genuineness. But if they are spurious, how does it happen that they are so universally quoted by Christian writers, and whence did they originate? This question I propose to deal with in the following pages.

I.

The name Sibyl (Σίβυλλα) is etymologically derived from the Æolian σιός (for θεός) and βόλλα or βύλλα (for βουλή). Accordingly, the word Σιόβυλλα, or Σίβυλλα, is equivalent to θεο-βουλή, and signifies a person announcing the designs (the will or counsel) of the deity. This interpretation corresponds with the sense in which the term was understood among the pagans, and according to which a Sibyl was a "semi-deified prophetess of the ordinances and designs of the gods regarding the fate of cities and kingdoms."[1] She was distinguished from the ordinary priestly caste of prophets by her non-official character, which left her free in the scope and exercise of her prophetic gift; and we find her usually represented as a nymph dwelling near the waters or in grottoes.[2] Very ancient writers, such as Heraclitus,[3] know of but one Sibyl, who wandered from place to place. But occasionally her voice was thought to have been heard in different places at the same time. Hence the belief that there were several Sibyls became common. Thus Pausanias speaks of four Sibyls,—the Trojan, the Libyan, the Kumana (Roman), and the Hebrew or Babylonian.[4] Lactantius, following Varro, counts eight Sibyls.[5] The most renowned Sibyls in Roman times were the Erythraea (from Erythraea on the Ionic coast) and the Kumana in lower Italy. Aristotle believed that the two names designated one and the

[1] Lücke, *Einleit. in d. Offenb. Ioann.*, p. 81.

[2] Schürer, *Gesch. d. jüd. Volkes*, Vol. II, p. 790.

[3] Plutarch, *De Pythiae Oraculis*, Vol. VII, p. 561, edit. Reisk.

[4] *Pausanias in Phoc.*, § 12.

[5] "Primam fuisse de Persis, secundam Lybicam, tertiam Delphida, quartam Cimeriam, quintam Erythraeam, sextam Samiam," etc., Lact., *Div. Inst.*, I, 6.

same person,[6] and the close resemblance of the two appears indeed to indicate a common Asiatic origin.

The Manuscript Records.

But few actual manuscript records of the genuine or supposed Sibylline prophecies exist—some two hundred verses (hexameter) in all.[7] Disconnected fragments were known to be preserved in private libraries of Greece and Asia Minor; whilst the principal collection is one known as the Roman, which, according to the well-known story, King Tarquin Superbus brought with him on his way through Kumae from Asia Minor.[8] He appointed two prominent citizens, who were called *duumviri*, to be its custodians. The number of these guards was, under the republic, increased to ten (*decemviri*), and subsequently to fifteen (*quindecemviri*).[9] They were to keep the books of the oracles absolutely secret in the capitol, and only in times of public calamity could they consult the sacred verses to ascertain what reparation the gods demanded. The reading and interpretation of the divine will from the Sibylline books was termed "sacris faciundis." In the year 76 B. C., a conflagration destroyed these sacred books, and the Roman Senate sent a deputation to Asia Minor to procure, if possible, another copy. They obtained, at Erythraea and various other places, a new collection of about a thousand verses, which was likewise deposited at the capitol.[10] This collection was known to exist down to the fifth century. During the reign of Honorius it was destroyed by order of Stilicho, as the pagan Rutilius Numatianus informs us with many regrets: "At Stilicho aeterni fatalia pignora regni et plenas voluit praecipitare colus."[11] This occurred probably about the year 406, that is to say, about nine hundred years after Tarquin had established the Sibylline cult.

[6] Arist., *De Mirab.*; *cf.* Cicero, *De Div.*, I, 18.
[7] Alexandre, *Oracula Sib.*, II, p. 118.
[8] Dionys. Halic., *Antiqu.*, IV, 62.
[9] *Tit. Liv.*, VI, 37.
[10] Lactant., I, 6, 14; Tacit., *Annal.* VI, 12; Dionys. Halic., IV, 62.
[11] *Rutilii Numat. Itiner.*, II, 55.

Besides this collection, which might be called the official book of the Sibylline prophecies, numerous others under the same name circulated among the people, not only of Rome, but in Greece and Asia Minor. Owing to the abuses to which such copies gave rise, they were frequently interdicted by the government. Nevertheless, they continued to circulate, and it was but natural that those who desired to influence the religious convictions of the populace would make use of these supposed expressions of the divine will for their own ends by adding to or changing the pretended oracles. This was done not only by Greek, but also by Jewish proselytizers wishing to secure the ear of the people by an appeal to their religious sentiment.[12]

The history of the last centuries before Christ abundantly shows that the movement of Hellenistic culture, which started from Alexandria, was characterized by a strong tendency to make propaganda in favor of Judaism. The result of this movement was not only a series of historic works from Jewish writers, such as Philo and Josephus, but also a large number of religious works, of which we have examples in the two Greek versions of the Scripture by Aquila and Theodotion, not to speak of the Septuagint and the canonical writings which, like Ecclesiasticus, come within the same period.

Under these circumstances it can hardly be deemed surprising that some of the zealots eager for the propagation of the Jewish law should have deemed it wise to use the Sibylline oracles as inducements to bring others to their way of thinking. And it is equally easy to understand that in these efforts to proselytize, the sense of strict honesty sometimes suffered when there was question of emphasizing means to attain what seemed to them clearly a commendable end. Nor were the pious frauds, which used the Sibylline books as a bait to draw the reverent attention of the pagans to the superiority of the revealed Law, confined to the Jews. Eagerly zealous Christians thought it lawful to employ like means, and the so-called Sibylline prophecies which we possess to-day are the outcome of this zeal

[12] *Schürer, op. cit.*, II, p. 792.

among Jews and Christians. It is of these that I shall speak now in detail.

Among the various editions of the Σιβυλλιακῶν Χρησμῶν Λόγοι issued within the last fifty years, the principal ones are those of Alexandre (Paris), Friedlieb (Leipzig), and Rzach (Vienna). The last-mentioned forms a small volume of Greek hexameter verse, bearing the title Οἱ τῆς Σιβύλλας χρησμοί. A short *Prologus* introduces the twelve books, or Λόγοι, comprising about 4,000 verses. The collection is simply an ill-arranged compound of oracular sayings, which the acute sense of modern criticism has not yet been able to disentangle or define. There is no unity of disposition or logical connection in the parts; and the manuscripts themselves differ in this respect, so that it has been impossible thus far to make any authoritative synthesis of the text. Even Lactantius in his day complains that "Libri sunt confusi nec discerni ac suum cuique assignari potest, nisi Erythraeae quae et nomen suum verum carmini inseruit."[13] Rzach himself, after careful study, comes to the conclusion that "the text of the apocrypha, known by the name of Sibylline oracles, belongs to that class of ancient Greek traditions which have suffered most through defective transmission of the MSS." And he expresses the conviction that the more we study the existing collection of the prophecies, the more clearly it appears that the many faults which are found in every portion of the text are due, not to the Sibylline writers, as was the general belief in former ages, but rather to defective means of handing down the ancient traditions.

The Contents.

The subject-matter of the Sibylline Books is a series of prophecies, concerning the fortunes of different countries, whilst here and there are added warnings and threats against the idolatry and vices of the pagans. To illustrate this, we take an example from the Third Book, which is the oldest, and which seems to have served, in a measure, as the groundwork and model for the subsequent oracles.

[13] Lactant., *op. cit.*, I, 6.

The book may be divided into three distinct parts. In the first we have the story of the Tower of Babel and the subsequent confusion of tongues, followed by the separation of men and their dispersion into the different parts of the earth.[14] The dominion over mankind is divided between Kronos, Titan, and Japetos. Kronos and Titan quarrel, and both perish. Then appear the different nations—the Egyptians, the Medes, etc., down to the time of the Romans. In this part,[15] the Sibyl speaks successively of the grandeur of the reign of Solomon:

> Οἶκος μὲν γὰρ πρώτιστος Σολομώνιος ἄρξει
> Φοινίκης τ'Ασίης ἐπιβήτορας κ.τ.λ.[16]

Next she mentions the Hellenic Macedonian rule:

> Αὐτὰρ ἐπειθ' Ἕλληνες ὑπερφίαλοι καὶ ἄναγνοι,
> Ἄλλο Μακηδονίης ἔθνος μέγα ποικίλον ἄρξει.[17]

Finally she comes to the Roman reign:

> Αὐτὰρ ἔπειτ' ἄλλης βασιληίδος ἔσσεται ἀρχή,
> Λευκὴ καὶ πολύκρανος, ἀφ' ἑσπερίου τε θαλάσσης.[18]

When the seventh king of Greek extraction has ceased to rule Egypt, the people of God shall again obtain ascendancy, and become a teacher of living truth to all mankind:

> Καὶ τότ' ἔθνος μεγάλοιο θεοῦ πάλι κάρτερον ἔσται,
> Οἳ πάντεσσι βροτοῖσι βίου καθοδηγοὶ ἔσονται.[19]

Then a terrible judgment is to visit all the nations. After this the Sybilline writer sketches the characteristics of the Jewish people, its religious cult and history down to the reign of Cyrus.[20]

The second part of the third book is made up almost exclusively of dire warnings and prophecies of evils which are to afflict various countries, islands, and cities. In the very midst of these sad forebodings occurs the description of the Messianic reign of peace.[21]

[14] III, 97–109. [15] III, 110–161. [16] III, 167, 168.
[17] III, 171, 172. [18] III, 175, 176. [19] III, 194, 195.
[20] III, 196–294. [21] III, 341–380.

Εἰρήνη δὲ γάληνος ἐν Ἀσσίδι γαῖαν ὁδεύσει.
Εὐρώπη δὲ μάκαιρα τότ' ἔσσεται, εὔβοτος αἰθὴρ,
Πουλυετὴς, εὔρωστος, ἀχείματος, ἠδ' ἀχάλαξος,
Πάντα φέρων καὶ πτηνὰ καὶ ἑρπετὰ θηρία γαίης.
Ὦ μακαριστὸς, ἐκεῖνον ὃς ἐς χρόνον ἔσσεται ἀνὴρ
Ἡὲ γυνὴ . . .[22]

The third portion of the book[23] opens with a series of oracles regarding several nations,[24] and from these passes into a eulogy of the people of Israel, putting it before the reader as an example of a nation which keeps aloof from the vices and idolatry of the pagans.[25] Then follow other announcements of punishments for sin and calls to repentance,[26] towards the end of which the Messianic King is introduced.[27]

Καὶ τότ' ἀπ' ἠελίοιο Θεὸς πέμψει βασιλῆα,
Ὃς πᾶσαν γαῖαν παύσει πολέμοιο κακοῖο,
Οὓς μὲν ἄρα κτείνας, οἷς δ' ὅρκια πιστὰ τελέσσας.
. . . . .
Λαὸς δ' αὖ μεγάλοιο Θεοῦ περικαλλέϊ πλούτῳ
Βεβριθὼς, χρυσῷ τὲ καὶ ἀργύρῳ . . .

It is quite evident that the idea here given of the expected King is that which prevailed among the Jews about the time of Christ, namely, of a powerful temporal sovereign rather than of the Master who taught His disciples humility, love of their enemies, and the spirit of poverty. After this description follows the prophecy of the Judgment, and again detailed references to the Messianic Kingdom, intermingled with earnest admonitions addressed to Hellas.[28] Having announced the signs that are to indicate the approaching end of the world,[29] the Sibyl in the epilogue reveals her identity:[30]

Ταῦτά σοι, Ἀσσυρίης Βαβυλώνια τείχεα μακρὰ
Οἰστρομανὴς προλιποῦσα . . .
Καὶ καλέουσι βροτοί με καθ' Ἑλλάδα πατρίδος ἄλλης,
Ἐξ Ἐρύθρης γεγαυῖαν, ἀναιδέα . . .

In conclusion, she intimates that she was present with Noah in the Ark at the time of the Deluge:

[22] III, 367–372. [23] III, 489–807. [24] III, 487-572.
[25] III, 573–600. [26] III, 601–651. [27] III, 652, ff.
[28] III, 652–795. [29] 795–808. [30] 808–823.

. . . Ὅτε γὰρ κατεκλύζετο κόσμος
Ὕδασι, καί τις ἀνὴρ μόνος . . . ἐλείφθη,
Τοῦ μὲν ἐγὼ νύμφη καὶ ἀφ' αἵματος αὐτοῦ ἐτύχθην,

and then, as though to spite truth itself, ends the book with the line Ὥστ' ἀπ' ἐμοῦ στόματος τάδ' ἀληθινὰ πάντα λελέχθω.

II.

Estimate of the Fathers.

The question which naturally occurs to the reader of these oracles is: How were they regarded by the early Christians and those who had authority in the Church? The answer is to be found in the works of the ecclesiastical writers, especially the Fathers.

According to Clement of Alexandria, it would appear that the Apostle St. Paul, in addressing the pagans, appealed to the Sibylline books: Λάβετε καὶ τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς βίβλους, ἐπιγνωτε Σίβυλλαν, ὡς δηλοῖ ἕνα θεὸν καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα ἔσεσθαι! But we may entertain doubts on this head and suppose that St. Clement simply repeated what he found in some apocryphal work current in his day, the Παύλου πράξεις, without wishing particularly to give the assertion the weight of his own authority.

Of St. Clement of Rome, a disciple of the Apostles, we read in the *Quaestiones ad Orthodoxos*:[31]

Εἰ τῆς παρούσης καταστάσεως τὸ τέλος ἔστιν ἡ διὰ τοῦ πυρὸς κρίσις τῶν ἀσεβῶν, κατὰ φασὶν αἱ γραφαὶ προφητῶν τε καὶ ἀποστόλων ἔτι δὲ καὶ τῆς Σιβύλλης, καθώς φασιν ὁ μακάριος Κλήμης ἐν τῇ πρὸς Κορινθίους ἐπιστολῇ.

But it is somewhat suspicious that the alleged passage is nowhere to be found in the Clementine Epistle to the Corinthians.

That Justin Martyr was familiar with the Sibylline text of the third, fourth, and fifth books as we have them to-day, is evident from his writings. He is the first expressly to declare his belief that the Sibyl was an inspired person:[32] ἔκ τινος δυνα-

[31] *Quaest.*, 74.
[32] *Ad Graec.*, § 37.

τῆς ἐπινοίας . . . ἐγγὺς εἶναι δοκεῖ τῆς τῶν προφητῶν διδασκαλίας. His statement that the Sibylline books, which he assumes to be identical with the ancient texts, were widely known in his day, is likewise of much importance.

The unknown author of the Διδασκάλια (early part of the third century) calls to witness the Sibylline oracles in confirmation of his teaching.[33] The later Apostolic Constitutions, which in the first six books represent an enlargement of the *Didaskalia*, do the same. In the Book of the Martyrs we read:[34] "If the pagans ridicule our writings, unwilling to give them credence, let them be convinced by their own prophetess, the Sibyl, who speaks thus:[35] 'When all things have been reduced to ashes and the Eternal God has caused the fire, which He has kindled, to stop, then He shall form the bones and ashes into a new man, and restore mortals to their former state,' etc.

Ἀλλ' ὅτ' ἂν ἤδη πάντα τέρφη σποδόεσσα γένηται
Καὶ πῦρ κοιμίσσῃ θεὸς ἄσπετον, ὅς περ ἀνῆψεν,
Ὄστεα καὶ σποδιὴν αὐτὸς θεὸς ἔμπαλιν ἀνδρῶν
Μορφώσει, στήσει δὲ βροτοὺς πάλιν, ὡς πάρος ἦσαν.

When, therefore, this one [the Sibyl] clearly confesses the Resurrection, it is indeed foolhardy not to accept our words."

Theophilus of Antioch, who cites from the Sibylline oracles of Books III and VIII, expresses himself as follows:[36]

Ὅτι μὲν ταῦτα (*i. e.*, the passages cited by him) ἀληθῆ καὶ ὠφέλιμα καὶ δίκαια καὶ προσφιλῆ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις τυγχάνει, δῆλόν ἐστιν.

Of course these words would still be true if a Jew or Christian, and not the Sibyl, had been the author of the books.

Clement of Alexandria, of whom I have already spoken, teaches that God gave to the pagans, as well as to the Jews, their prophets.[37] Although he cites from the different books,—the third, fourth, and fifth,—the quotations amounting altogether

[33] *Cf.* Funk, *D. Apost. Didaskalia*, in his work, *D. Apost. Constitutionen*, p. 29.
[34] *Const. Apost.*, L. V, c. 7.
[35] L. IV, 178 ff.
[36] Theoph., L. II, 36.
[37] Strom., L. VI.

to about fifty verses, it cannot be said with any certainty in what light he regarded the Sibyl. In one place he speaks of one pagan Sibyl; then again he speaks of several; finally he returns to the belief in one, that is the Hebrew Sibyl, whom he also calls Προφῆτις.

Gregory of Nazianzen[38] only refers to the Sibylline oracles in some of his verses, and he plainly intimates that the prophecies had, in his time, largely lost their former prestige as authority to which the Christian apologist might appeal for confirmation of his teaching. It matters little, in his estimation, whether Hermes or the Sibyl expressed their approbation of the Catholic truth; if they did so, they required no special illumination from God, but simply a familiarity with the existing Sacred Writings: Οὐ θεόθεν, βίβλων δὲ παραβλέψαντες ἐμεῖο.

Saints Basil, Chrysostom, Epiphanius, and others among the Christian luminaries of the East make no mention whatever of the Sibyls.

In the Western Church we have Tertullian, who styles the Sibyl divine:[39] "Nec praetermittam potiora testimonia divinarum literarum, quibus fides pro antiquitate superior debetur; ante enim Sibylla quam omnis literatura existit."

The writer who appears of all others to give most credit to the Sibyl is Lactantius. He, too, considers her utterances divine:[40] "nunc ad divina testimonia transeamus." From eight books of the oracles he cites in various places of his writings some seventy-five passages (about two hundred verses).

Among the imitators of Lactantius in his regard for the Sibylline prophecies, the one noteworthy example is St. Augustine. "Vir clarissimus Flaccianus," he says,[41] "qui etiam proconsul fuit, homo facillimae facundiae, multaeque doctrinae, cum de Christo colloqueremur, Graecum nobis codicem protulit, carmina esse dicens Sibyllae Erythraeae, ubi ostendit quodam loco in capitibus versuum ordinem literarum ita se habentem ut haec in eo verba legerentur:

[38] *De Rebus S. Carm*, II.
[39] Lib. II *Ad Nation.*, p. 75, ed. Rig.
[40] *Div. Inst.*, L. I, c. 6.
[41] *De Civitate Dei*, L. XVIII, c. 23.

ΙΗΣΟΥΣ ΧΡΕΙΣΤΟΣ ΘΕΟΥ ΥΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡ

quod est latine: 'Jesus Christus Dei Filius Salvator.' Hi autem versus quorum primae literae istum sensum, quem diximus, reddunt, sicut eos quidam latinis et stantibus versibus est interpretatus, hoc continent:

"Judicii signum tellus sudore madescet
E coelo Rex adveniet per saecla futurus, etc.[42]

"Haec autem Sibylla sive Erythraea sive ut quidam magis credunt, Cumana, ita nihil habet in toto carmine suo, cujus

[42] The acrostic is found in the Sibylline book VIII, v. 217–244, and reads as follows:

Ἰδρώσει δὲ χθών, κρίσεως σημεῖον ὅτ' ἔσται.
Ἥξει δ'οὐρανόθεν βασιλεὺς αἰῶσιν ὁ μέλλων,
Σάρκα παρὼν πᾶσαν κρῖναι καὶ κόσμον ἅπαντα
Ὄψονται δὲ θεὸν μέροπες πιστοὶ καὶ ἄπιστοι
Ὕψιστον μετὰ τῶν ἁγίων ἐπὶ τέρμα χρόνοιο.
Σαρκοφόρων δ'ἀνδρῶν ψυχὰς ἐπὶ βήματι κρίνει,
Χέρσος ὅτ' ἂν ποτε κόσμος ὅλος καὶ ἄκανθα γένηται.
Ῥίψουσιν δ'εἴδωλα βροτοὶ καὶ πλοῦτον ἅπαντα.
Ἐκκαύσει δὲ τὸ πῦρ γῆν, οὐρανὸν ἠδὲ θάλασσαν
Ἰχνεῦον· φρύξει δὲ πύλας εἱρκτῆς Ἀίδαο.
Σὰρξ τότε πᾶσα νεκρῶν ἐς ἐλευθέριον φάος ἥξει
Τῶν ἁγίων· ἀνόμους δὲ τὸ πῦρ αἰῶσιν ἑλίξει.
Ὁππόσα τις πράξας ἔλαθεν, τότε πάντα λαλήσει:
Στήθεα γὰρ ζοφόεντα θεὸς φωστῆρσιν ἀνοίξει.
Θρῆνος δ'ἐκ πάντων ἔσται καὶ βρυγμὸς ὀδόντων.
Ἐκλείψει σέλας ἠελίου ἄστρων τε χορεῖαι.
Οὐρανὸν εἱλίξει· μήνης δὲ τε φέγγος ὀλεῖται.
Ὑψώσει δὲ φάραγγας, ὀλεῖ δ'ὑψώματα βουνῶν,
Ὕψος δ'οὐκ ἔτι λοιπὸν ἐν ἀνθρώποισι φανεῖται.
Ἴσα δ'ὄρη πεδίοις ἔσται καὶ πᾶσα θάλασσα
Οὐκ ἔτι πλοῦν ἕξει. γῆ γὰρ φρυχθεῖσα τότ' ἔσται
Σὺν πηγαῖς ποταμοί τε καχλάζοντες λείψουσιν.
Σάλπιγξ οὐρανόθεν φωνὴν πολύθρηνον ἀφήσει
Ὠρύουσα μύσος μελέων καὶ πήματα κόσμου
Ταρτάρεον δὲ χάος δείξει τότε γαῖα χανοῦσα.
Ἥξουσιν δ'ἐπὶ βῆμα θεοῦ βασιλῆες ἅπαντες.
Ῥεύσει δ'οὐρανόθεν ποταμὸς πυρὸς ἠδὲ θεείου.

exigua particula ista est, quod ad deorum falsorum cultum pertineat; quin imo, ita etiam contra eos et contra eorum cultores loquitur, ut in eorum numero deputanda videatur, qui pertinent ad Civitatem Dei." One cannot help noticing the reserve with which St. Augustine expresses himself—"videatur," and at the beginning—"carmina esse *dicens*."

It is evident the Saint did not place absolute confidence in the prophecies. This he shows even more plainly in his controversy with the Manichaean Faustus, who had appealed to the Sibylline books in confirmation of his arguments. St. Augustine answers: "In nullis ecclesiis illa (vaticinia Sibyllae) recitari cum Hebraei prophetae in omnibus gentibus clareant." (XIII, c. 1). And again he says (XIII, c. 15): "Sibylla porro vel Sibyllae . . . vera dixisse perhibentur, valet quidem aliquid ad paganam vanitatem revincendam, non tamen ad eorum auctoritatem amplectendam."

Nevertheless, it is due to the authority of St. Augustine that the Sibylline oracles maintained any sort of respectable recognition down to the Middle Ages, whereas no trace of them remained in the East. We find, at the time of Charles the Bald, a collection of the Sibylline prophecies from the works of the Fathers with a commentary by a certain Sedulius. In the liturgy, too, we find traces of this recognition, for the above-mentioned Latin acrostic "*Judicii signum*" was chanted at the exequies in the churches; and it is probably to this fact that we owe the mention of the Sibyl's name in the beautiful sequence *Dies irae*. There is a hymn ascribed to St. Bernard, and chanted at Christmas, in France:

> Si non suis vatibus,
> Credat vel gentilibus,
> Sibyllinis versibus
> Haec praedicta.[43]

The mediæval theologian likewise regarded the Sibylline oracles with reverence. Thus St. Thomas of Aquin says: "Sibyllae multa vera praedixerunt de Christo;"[44] in another place adding "teste Augustino." This may account to some extent for the almost enthusiastic cult with which, at a sub-

[43] *Missale Ambian.*, ad Diem Nat. Dom.

[44] Sec. II, qu. 2, 7 ad 3; and qu. 172, 6, 1.

sequent period of the Middle Ages, the Sibylline prophecies were studied and interpreted. The Teutonic temper of mind, as well as the past history of the newly converted German nations, in whom centuries could not efface the veneration alike for the mysterious and for the ancient priestesses of their race, was peculiarly favorable to this movement, which also opened the way to impostors playing to their own advantage upon the credulity of the people. This caused numerous spurious texts to be circulated under the name of Sibylline prophecies. One such is found among the works ascribed to Venerable Bede,[45] from which we quote a few sentences as mere curiosities of literature. About the Roman emperors of Germanic race the Sibyl speaks as follows: "Et post haec surget rex Salicus de Francia per K. nomine (Charlemagne), ipse erit magnus et piissimus, potens et misericors. Et veniet rex post eum per L. nomine (Louis)." In this manner the prophetess enumerates the successive rulers in regular order down to Henry VI. But then she begins to flounder—"post haec vero surget alius rex per H. nomine, et de ipso H. procedent duodecim H (*sic*)." Thus she continues in irrelevant fashion, ending with a vivid description of the Last Judgment, in which the aforementioned acrostic is repeated. The prophetic gift of the Sibyl evidently began to grow less keen after she arrived at Henry VI, which fact faintly suggests the possibility that she was contemporary of that monarch. But we shall recur to this phase again.

From the sixteenth century the popularity of the Sibylline oracles decreased. A complete edition of the Σιβυλλιακοί was published by Xystus Betuleius in 1544-46. It contained eight books, and was reissued, much improved, in 1555 (Basle). In 1828 Cardinal Mai published the remaining four books, which he had discovered among the MSS. of the Milan and Vatican libraries.

III.

In view of what has been said we are confronted with the important query: What are we to think of the Sibylline books?

[45] *Cf.* Migne, T. XC, col. 1184, ed. 1850.

To give a satisfactory answer to this question we shall have to inquire—

1. May we suppose that God would communicate the gift of prophecy to a pagan medium?

2. Has God ever done so?

3. Has He done so in the case of the Sibyl?

4. Are the so-called Sibylline books which we possess at present the writings of this Sibyl?

5. Do the writings which we possess under the name of Sibylline books contain actual prophecies that have been subsequently fulfilled?

The first and second questions we may readily answer with St. Thomas[46] in the affirmative. "Quod prophetae daemonum loquuntur interdum ex revelatione divina, sicut manifeste legitur de Balaam." The answer to the third question must depend on the strength of the arguments which we can bring in favor of the fourth and fifth; and I feel free to assert that no such proofs can be advanced; that, on the contrary, there are strong arguments to show that our so-called Sibylline books are not the writings of a Sibyl, and that they contain no actual prophecies in the true sense of the word. This assertion I propose to make good in the following argument.

The motives which determine the credibility of a prophecy are certain intrinsic or extrinsic proofs which the claimant of the prophetic gift is bound to produce in order to establish his mission. Such proofs or credentials are especially necessary when there is question regarding so-called prophetic utterances or writings the origin of which is obscure and lies under the suspicion of having been falsified or invented.

What credentials have we for the mission of the Sibylline prophetess? It is true that the oracles which our Sibylline books announce are found to correspond with actual facts; but the question remains, were these announcements made *before* the occurrence of the events narrated? If not, then they are surely not prophecies. Now it is manifest that it would not be a fair criterion of truth to accept the mere statement of the Sibylline books themselves as a guarantee of

[46] Sec. II, qu. 172, 6 c et ad 1.

their truthfulness; we need some other witness to show us conclusively that the Sibylline writings in our possession were really in existence before the events which they pretend to foretell did occur. As a matter of fact, however, it happens that all the witnesses who mention the existing Sibylline books did live after the events therein narrated. We have, therefore, no external criterion to establish the prophetic character of the books.

It may be objected that the present collection of the books is, in all probability, identical with the official copy known to have been preserved in the Roman capitol during the reign of Tarquin and under the Roman Republic. But the assumption is wholly gratuitous, since history records the fact that this official copy was burnt. The jealous care with which the Romans watched over the Sibylline books seems to preclude the idea of a transcription. Moreover, our pseudo-Sibyl herself testifies against the identity, because she styles herself the Babylonian Sibyl,[47] and not the Erythræan,[48] whom the Romans consulted.

Another and stronger objection might be urged by assuming that, whilst we have no actual contemporary testimony in favor of the veracity of the prophecies, still those who speak of them are very trustworthy men, Christian writers who lived at a period when it was easier than it is at present to determine the truth or falsity of the Sibylline claims. But do these trustworthy Christian writers really place such faith in the genuineness of these prophecies as to allow the inference that they held them to be inspired? It must be remembered that the Christian Fathers do not refer to these oracles as theological sources of knowledge, but only as illustrations, or at most as starting-points of analogy in controversy with pagans who did or might have faith in their supernatural origin. "Sibylla valet aliquid ad paganam vanitatem revincendam," says St. Augustine; and it is noteworthy in this connection that those ecclesiastical writers who make use of the appeal to the Sibylline books

[47] III, 809.
[48] III, 814.

can hardly be styled, at least in most cases, Fathers of the Church. They are Lactantius, Origen, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, and the author of the *Didaskalia;* men who are rather apologists than *Patres Ecclesiae* in the strict sense of the word.

Not even as historical evidence could this testimony of the early Christian writers be admitted in behalf of the trustworthiness of the Sibylline books. Origen, as is well known, finds himself quite at a loss to repudiate the charge of Celsus that the prophecies are spurious.[49] Lactantius, who is the strongest of all the witnesses in behalf of the oracles, fortunately gives us an insight into the reasons that swayed his convictions in their behalf, and therefore permits us to form a fair estimate of the value of his belief—*tantum auctoritas, quantum rationes.*

Here are his reasons:[50] "His testimoniis quidam revicti solent eo confugere non esse illa carmina Sibyllina, sed a nostris ficta atque composita. Quod profecto non putabit, qui Ciceronem, Varronem legerit, aliosque veteres qui Erythraeam Sibyllam ceterosque commemorant: quarum ex libris ista exempla proferimus, qui auctores ante obierunt quam Christus secundum carnem nasceretur. Verum non dubito, quin illa carmina prioribus temporibus pro deliramentis habita sint cum ea tunc nemo intelligerit. Jacuerunt itaque multis saeculis, sicut etiam voces Prophetarum, quae cum per annos mille quingentos vel eo amplius lectae fuissent a populo Judaeorum, non tamen intellectae." The weakness of the argument that we should accept the Sibylline writings of the time of Lactantius because Cicero and Varro had spoken of the Sibyls, is apparent at once; yet Lactantius seems to have had nothing stronger to say in answer to the charge that these writings were spurious.

Another attempt to vindicate the authenticity and authority of our present Sibylline books is found in the following passage from a speech addressed by the Emperor Constantine to the assembled Fathers of the Council of Nice, and reported

[49] *Celsus apud Orig.*, VII, 56, v. 61.
[50] *Div. Inst.*, IV, c. 15.

by Eusebius.[51] "All are agreed that Cicero not only knew of, but translated and incorporated in his works this prediction" (embodied in the acrostic of the Sibylline books). But is this true? We are not aware that Cicero in any part of his works refers to the pretended prophecy. The only passage in the writings of the great Roman orator, which could be in any way construed into a meaning akin to Constantine's words, is as follows: "Non esse autem illud furentis, cum ipsum poema declarat (est enim magis artis et diligentiae quam incitationis et furoris) tum vero ea, quae acrostichis dicitur cum deinceps ex primis versus litteris aliquid connectitur ut in quibusdam Ennianis . . . in Sibyllinis ex primo versu cujusque sententiae primis litteris carmen omne praetexitur."[52] Surely Constantine must have misread his Cicero; and his complaint that not only the learned and the skeptic, ἀλλ' οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπιστοῦσιν, seems hardly justified if it rest on no other source of knowledge than the one alleged.

But there are not only negative reasons against the authenticity of our Sibylline books; we have likewise positive evidence which weakens belief in their genuineness. It is well known that all prophetic writings for which we have a supernatural guarantee bear in their form a certain mysteriousness of expression, like things seen at a distance. This characteristic absence of precise delineation and detail in far-away images is in striking contrast with the form of expression adopted by the pretended Sibyl. She knows and states everything with an accurate announcement of names and dates and places, so as to arouse the involuntary suspicion that the things predicted could hardly have been out of the range of commonplace vision. Where, for example, Isaias prophesies[53] "Ecce virgo concipiet et pariet filium," our Sibyl is much better informed and announces:[54]

[51] *Constantini Oratio ad Sanctor. Coetum; cf.* Migne, XX, c. 1290.

[52] *De Divinitatione*, II, 54.

[53] Is. 7: 14.

[54] VIII, 457 ff.

Παρθένου ἐκ Μαρίας λαγόνων ἀνέτειλε νέον φῶς,
. . . . .
Πρῶτα μὲν οὖν Γαβριὴλ σθεναρὸν δέμας ἁγνὸν ἐδείχθη
Δεύτερα καὶ κούρην αὐτάγγελος ἔννεπε φωνῇ, κ.τ.λ.

Regarding the miraculous multiplication of bread of which the prophets make no record, she can tell:[55]

Ἐκ δ'ἄρτων ἅμα πέντε καὶ ἰχθύος εἰναλίοιο
Ἀνδρῶν χιλιάδας ἐν ἐρήμῳ πέντε κορέσσει,
Καὶ τὰ περισσεύαντα λαβὼν ἅμα κλάσματα πάντα,
Δώδεκα πληρώσει κοφίνους εἰς ἐλπίδα λαῶν'.

Now it can hardly be supposed that God would reveal the person of the Messias with so much more precision to the pagans than to the people whom He had especially chosen as the bearer of the Messianic prophecies; and that precisely those prophecies which are less clear and which leave something for the believing and searching mind to fill out, should have been classed with the canonical books as inspired, whilst others that appear to proceed from an immediate vision rather than from a prophetic monition, should be set aside at the risk of being discredited by the faithful.

But even from the pagan point of view do our Sibylline prophecies arouse suspicion. The utterances of the ancient oracles were invariably shrouded in mystic ambiguity; they were pronounced in brief, abrupt, enigmatic sentences, which indicated that the seer was in a dream rather than awake.[56] Such was the impression also among the Fathers, who made this very fact an argument against the pagan pretension that their prophets foretold the future.[57]

The Sibyl assures us: *οὐδὲ γὰρ οἶδα οἷα λέγω.* But we can hardly credit it. The phraseology employed by the Sibyl is that which we find in the admired writers of the classic age. Rzach[58] has selected six hundred passages, taken from the ancient Greek authors, which are repeated in the hexameters of the

[55] VIII, 275 ff.
[56] *Cf.* Paus., VII, 57.
[57] Chrysost., *Hom. XXIX in Ep. I. Cor.*
[58] *Orac. Sibyl*, p. 240.

Sibyl. The same writer notes about 1,500 other places in the Sibylline verses, of which he found parallel passages in the same authors. In one place[59] our Sibyl is, in fact, rather hard on poor Homer, and it looks very much as if the slur was meant to convince the reader that she—the demigoddess—could not have copied after the old bard.

> Καί τις ψευδογράφος πρέσβυς . . . γράψει τὰ κατ' Ἴλιον, οὐ μὲν ἀληθῶς, ἀλλὰ σαφῶς, ἔπεσι γὰρ ἐμοῖς.[60]

But whilst the Sibyl prophesies with wonderful detail and accuracy up to a certain period, she suddenly becomes vague when she reaches a certain date. Why should this be, unless the writer of the oracles all at once ceased to see things as clearly as before? What if our Sibylline writer had merely copied past history. The events that were still to transpire might be gleaned in a less definite manner from the records of the accredited Old Testament prophecies down to the very end of time. If such were the origin of the Sibylline oracles, we might easily trace the kind of Sibyl that composed them in the peculiar bias which characterizes the interpretation given to the prophecies found in the Hebrew books. We should surmise that she was of Jewish descent, from the description of the Messianic King and the peace that is to accompany His reign, as drawn in the third Sibylline book. There the Messias is pictured as a king of a very different character from that which Christ claimed to be. It is the Redeemer as the Jewish Rabbins conceived him. Certain parts, however, harmonize with the Christian aspect of the Redemption.[61] The following table, in which the passages similarly characterized are indicated, will help the student to verify what I have said. They are taken from the third (presumably of Jewish composition) and the eighth (presumably of Christian composition) book of the Sibylline collection.

[59] III, 418–425.
[60] III, 418–425.
[61] III, 367–380; III, 652–807.

Bible.		Sibyl.
Jer.	25: 12.	—III, 280.
Dan.	7: 13.	—III, 286.
Ezech.	14: 17.	—III, 316.
"	14: 21.	—III, 317.
"	38: 2.	—III, 319.
"	38: 5.	—III, 325.
Dan.	7: 7.	—III, 329.
Ezech.	14: 21.	—III, 335.
Dan.	7: 7.	—III, 397.
Ezech.	39: 9.	—III, 649.
Dan.	7: 13.	—III, 652.
Jerem.	1: 15.	—III, 663.
Ezech.	38: 20.	—III, 676.
"	38: 21.	—III, 689.
Ezech.	38: 23.	— III, 693.
"	39: 9.	— III, 728.
Zach.	2: 10.	— III, 785.
Joel	2: 10.	— III, 801.
Apoc. Joan.	10: 11.	—VIII, 3.
" "	12: 2.	—VIII, 88.
" "	8: 10.	—VIII, 190.
" "	17: 3.	—VIII, 194.
" "	20: 1.	—VIII, 196.
" "	17: 4.	—VIII, 200.
" "	6: 12.	—VIII, 232.
" "	8: 7.	—VIII, 237.
" "	12: 5.	—VIII, 248.
" "	9: 6.	—VIII, 350.

The fifth book serves to emphasize our suspicion that the Sibyl is at one time "prophesying" past events and at another trying to prophesy what is still to come. Down to verse 51 inclusive the oracle is as clear as history; we have the fifteen Roman emperors in good order, indicated by their initials. This is done in numerical characters in the following fashion: *δέκα δίς* (twenty, which in Greek is expressed by the Letter K, stands for *Καῖσαρ*—Cæsar); *τριηκοσίων ἀριθμός* (three hundred = T = *Τιβηριος* = Tiberius); *ἑπτάκις δέκατος* (seventy = O = *Ουεσπασιάνος* = Vespasian), etc.[62]

With verse 52, however, the pretended Sibyl begins a new chapter introduced by the words: *Τείρομαι ἡ τριτάλαινα*; and here begins the difficulty of real prophesying. In fact, verse 51 indicates already an attempt at guesswork in which our prophetess fails. She says: *ὁ δὲ τρίτατος* (which is evidently intended to refer to the Emperor L. Verus) *σφῶν ὀψὲ κρατήσει.* The word *σφῶν* stands of course for the two emperors Antoninus and M. Aurelius. Unfortunately for the Sibyl's gift of prophecy, history vouches for the fact that the *τρίτατος* did not survive the two others. The prophecy seems, therefore, to have been made before his death, 168 of the Christian era; and we can understand why in the subsequent verses the Sibyl leaves the path of accurate historic statements to indulge in the vague announcement of calamities which were sure in

[62] V, 12–21—36.

one way or other to come upon the world. We are strongly reminded of the Scripture word, Deut. 18: 21, "si tacita cogitatione responderis, quomodo possum intelligere verbum quod Dominus *non* est locutus, hoc habebis signum. Quod in nomine Domini propheta ille praedixerit et *non evenerit*, hoc *Dominus non* est locutus."

In the third book of her oracles our Sibyl announces that the end of the world would take place during the reign of the seventh Ptolemy.[63]

Ἑβδομάτῃ γενεῇ βασιλήων, καὶ τότε παύσῃ.

But the world has gone on for a long time since Ptolemy VII Physkon was King of Egypt. In the fourth book the end of the world is again predicted, but there it is to take place under Titus.[64] Again we meet the prophecy in the fifth book, where the end of the world is said to take place under Antoninus Pius.[65] Finally the same prediction is repeated in the eighth book, where the precise year of the earth's destruction is deciphered in cabalistic fashion out of the word Ῥωμη.[66]

Τρὶς δὲ τριηκοσίους καὶ τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ὄκτω
Πληρώσεις λυκάβαντας ὅταν σοι δύσμορος ἥξῃ
Μοῖρα βιαζομένη, τέον οὔνομα πληρώσασα.

This places the end at 948 years after the foundation of Rome, that is A. D. 195. It is clear we have here no true prophetic foresight of actual events.

There are also a goodly number of theological difficulties to puzzle the orthodox believer of Christianity. The Sibyl does not believe in the eternal pains of hell,[67] for there is to be a general amnesty of the lost after some centuries. Nero is represented as having moved away from this earth for a time in order to return as Antichrist.[68] According to the words of the Sibyl[69] it would appear that the union of the divine and human

[63] III, 191–193, 316–318, 608–610.
[64] IV, 132.
[65] V, 51.
[66] VIII, 148–150.
[67] II, 331, sq.
[68] IV, 135 sq. V, 362; VIII, 153.
[69] VI, 4 sq. cf. VII, 70.

natures in Christ was only accomplished at His baptism in the Jordan. Such errors go to confirm the theory of the spurious origin of our present Sibylline books. Various opinions have been expressed as to the time at which the several books, taken apart, came into existence; and these opinions are based on the arguments already indicated in this paper, as well as on others of an historical and philological character. Alexandre in his erudite work on the subject[70] suggests the following dates for the composition of the different books:

Book III—(second and fourth parts) of Jewish origin, composed in Egypt about 165 B. C.

Book IV—of Christian authorship, during the first century after Christ.

Prooemium and Book VIII (second part)—Christian, written in Egypt about the beginning of the second century.

Book VIII (first part)—Christian, written in Egypt during the reign of Antoninus Pius.

Books III (third part) and V—mixture of Jewish and Christian elements, composed under Antoninus Pius.

Books VI and VII—Christian (tainted with heterodox views), written in Asia about 234.

Book VIII (last part)—Christian, written about 250.

Books I and II—Christian, of the same period.

Book XI and the following seem to have come from the hands of a Jewish writer, who was familiar with the Christian religion, about 267.

Although there can be no doubt as to the fact that the Sibylline books represent a composite work of partly Jewish, partly Christian character, it is not so easy to determine the precise lines of demarcation separating the different elements. An evidence of this is found in the diverse views taken, for example, of the make-up of the third book.

According to Bleek, the author must have been an Alexandrine Jew, living at the time of the Maccabees,[71] who utilized certain existing verses of older pagan poets, and whose work was subsequently interpolated by some Christian transcriber.

[70] Alexandre, vol. II excurs. V, c. 18.

[71] 170–160 B. C.

Other critics, perhaps the majority, ascribe the entire work to Jewish proselytizers. As to the date of composition, Gfrörer, Lücke, and Friedlieb agree with Bleek; Hilgenfeld puts the date of the entire work at 140 B. C., and he is followed by Reuss, Badt, and Wittichen; Ewald places the date still later, about 124.[72] In the disposition of parts which refer to the different authors, there is likewise considerable diversity of opinion. Thus, whilst Alexandre ascribes the authorship of III 97–294 and 489–817 to an Alexandrine Jew about 168 B. C., assuming the remaining verses to be from a Christian hand, Larocque maintains that verses 1–96, 295–488 belong to different and separate collections simply here incorporated. Delanny holds that verses 97–294 and 489–817 are taken from various oracles known at different periods of the second century before Christ.[73]

From what has been said we may draw the conclusion that, though the Sibylline books, in the form in which we possess them this day, can in nowise be accepted as genuine prophecies, or as identical with the supposed Sibylline books preserved in the Roman Capitol; still they are not without value for the Christian apologist. Their existence indicates, like all counterfeits, something which served it as a pattern, and which has been lost to us, whatever might be its value from the standpoint of Christian revelation. Moreover, whilst the Sibylline verses to which I have referred are evidently the offspring of an exaggerated zeal for the propagation of revealed truth, they must have effected some good in drawing attention to the faith of the Messias. Nor would it be quite just to form a very severe judgment regarding the authors who lent themselves to what may be called the pious fraud of inventing such methods, with a view of propagating either Jewish or Christian tenets of morality, since the practice seems to have been common enough, as the numerous so-called "Apocrypha" of the Apostolic and subsequent ages testify.[74] All in all, we may consider the possession of the Sibylline

[72] *Cf.* Schürer, vol. II, 759, *sq.*

[73] *Ibid.*

[74] *Cf.* Tischendorf's *Acta Apost. Apogr.* and *Evangelia Apogr.* Leipzig, 1853.

books a decided advantage, even if regarded merely as a literary production; and one that, leaving aside its prophetic pretensions, is calculated to arouse in the reader a warm enthusiasm for religion and lofty poetic thought; whilst to the scholar they are a rich field of philological growth in which he may try the value of the principles of modern textual criticism.

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DIONYSIUS THE CARTHUSIAN.

DOCTORIS ECSTATICI D. DIONYSII CARTUSIANI OPERA OMNIA in unum Corpus digesta ad Fidem Editionum Coloniensium, cura et labore Monachorum Sacri Ordinis Cartusiensis, favente Pont. Max. Leone XIII; Tomus XVII, SUMMA FIDEI ORTHODOXAE (Libri I–III); Tomus XVIII, SUMMA FIDEI ORTHODOXAE (Libri III–IV), DIALOGION DE FIDE. Monstrolii, typis Cartusiae Sanctae Mariae de Pratis. MDCCCXCIX.

DIONYSIUS DER KARTHAEUSER. 1402–1471. Sein Leben, sein Wirken. Eine Neuausgabe seiner Werke. Mit Autograph und Porträt. D. A. Mougel. Aus dem Französischen mit einigen Ergänzungen des Verfassers in's Deutsche übersetzt von einem Priester des Karthäuser-Ordens. Mülheim a. d. Ruhr, Verlag von M. Hegner. 1898.

RYCKEL is only a small hamlet, counting scarce a hundred souls. Encircled by fertile orchards, it hides in its obscurity at the foot of its venerable chateau, midway between St. Trond and Looz, in the Belgian province of Limbourg. The tourist on his way from Brussels through St. Trond to Liege hurries past it unnoticed. Yet it holds the memory of a glory that is all its own; for it is the birthplace of Denis, or as he is usually called Dionysius, the Carthusian. To the reader unfamiliar with the outgoing of the Middle Ages the basis and significance of such a glory will not be apparent; for Dionysius does not loom large in the modern mind. There is no mention of

him in the popular cyclopedias, or in the compendiums and pleasant text-books of history. None the less was he, for intellectual and moral power and achievement, one of the greatest, if not the very greatest, of the heroes of the fifteenth century. Indeed, there is no exaggeration in saying that in these respects he has few peers in all the centuries run together. A treatise on the philosophy of the modern oblivion of Dionysius might not be uninteresting. Yet, were it truthful, it were unflattering to ourselves and our times, and might even seem to smack of pessimism. In lieu of so unwelcome a theme, occasion is taken here of the new edition of the works of the great Carthusian to say something concerning his life, labors, and character.

He was born in the year 1402 of the well-to-do family Van Leeuven, or, in Latinized form, the De Leeuvis. Whether his parents had fallen into reduced circumstances, or for some other reason to us unknown, he tended as a child his father's flocks. In his commentary on Genesis he likens himself in this respect to Jacob's daughter: "I too in my childhood," he says, "before I began to go to school, kept and pastured my parents' flocks." Doubtless these early years spent in the open air helped to knit and toughen the robust constitution he had inherited from his Flemish ancestry; whilst the gentler influence of nature's school may have smoothed away some of the asperities of a temperament which otherwise had been less potent in winning souls to God. That he needed something more than the kindlier disciplining of nature may be inferred from the sentence following the one just quoted. "For I was a very bad boy," he says, "often fighting in the field with other boys who pastured sheep."

Another power efficacious in forming his opening boyhood was the religious atmosphere of his birthplace, Ryckel. Around about on every side the region was dotted with monasteries, from which the incessant prayers and penances of choirs of holy souls ascending to heaven must have descended in the shape of many a benediction and culturing influence on the people of the neighborhood. Then, too, the traditions of St. Christina the Wonderful, clinging to his home, stimulated, no-

doubt, the little Denis to virtue. "In loco quo fuit sepulta Christina Mirabilis," he says, "fui frequenter et dum in pueritia in oppido S. Trudonis frequentavi, scholares ex relatu suorum parentum saepe loquebantur de ea." Nor could examples like those of the Virgin[1] of neighboring Spaelbeeck, who was famed for her sanctity and frequent ecstasies, and of another Christina who was favored with the stigmata of our Lord's Passion, as well as of other holy souls mentioned in his works, have been less effectual in uplifting his mind to lofty ideals and training his will to self-abnegation.

Whilst still very young he was sent to one of the monastic schools near his home. Looking back in after years to these first beginnings of school life, he feels himself impelled to thank God for three gifts he then enjoyed. First, the early opportunity of study: "Infantulum pene adhuc, nondumque discretionis tempora sortitum, litteris me applicuisti et erudisti." Secondly, for talent and facility in learning: "Puer eram ingeniosius, capacemque mihi mentem elargitus es." And thirdly, for an insatiate love for knowledge: "Tantus mihi adhuc in primordiis disciplinae inerat litterarum amor, ut, nocturnis temporibus, dum lunae se splendor diffundens per fenestrae rimas emicaret, diurnum putans radiare jubar, mox intempestae noctis silentio surgens, nisi fores clausae fuissent, ad scholas properassem."[2]

Yet these first steps in book-learning were not all in ways that led him nearer to God. On the contrary, the steadier retrospective from the higher plane of manhood discerned in them an inordinate attachment to mere knowledge; and he

[1] "Devotissima virgo Elizabeth de Spaelbeeck, compatriota mea, quia Spaelbeeck villa est non longe a villa ortus mei Ryckel. quotidie septies rapiebatur ad Deum." The sixth of his sermons on the Blessed Sacrament is dedicated to three religious famed for extraordinary sanctity: "Hoc tibi Mechtildi, quae in Noviomagio jaces . . . die ac nocte in lectulo, et assiduis raptibus obdormis ac refíceris in Dilecto." And again: "Tibi quoque Christinae" (another virgin, not the martyr above mentioned), "quae et instar Christi, nuper quinque vulnera in corpore tuo bajulasti, quorum stigmata nunc usque cernuntur in te." And lastly: "Tibi etiam Catharinae, quae nullo corporeo alimento . . . triennio et amplius usa es, nisi modico poculo liquoris qui remanet, caseo facto ex lacte."—Mougel, p. 6.

[2] Mougel, p. 10.

can find no tears sufficient to wash away the stains of self-love, vanity, and pride, which the keener vision of later life discerned in his child-soul. Still this period of what he regarded as overweening intellectualism, as a form of selfishness did not last long; for we soon find him thanking God for an upward leading: "Sed, o misericors Creator, cito misertus es mei, atque ad distantiores me regiones, studendi ratione deduxisti, in quibus nedum philosophiae exordia, sed et religiosae quoque vitae initia, te efficiente, adeptus sum."[3] He was but thirteen years old when, already possessing a remarkable fund of information, he entered upon these *exordia philosophiae* and *religiosae vitae initia.* This was probably at Deventer, whither Providence had guided at the same time another youth of kindred aspirations, Nicholas Krebs, afterwards Cardinal of Cusa, with whom in later life Dionysius was to be closely associated in important work for the Church.

It took him, however, five years more to reach a consciousness of the emptiness of human glory and the worthlessness of intellectual attainments that do not bring the soul closer to God. At eighteen we find him laying aside worldly aspirations, and knocking for admission at the Carthusian monastery. Rejected twice because of his youth, first at Diest and then at Roermond, he betook himself to the University of Cologne, where he spent the next three years, making great progress in learning and science, yet still unweaned of earlier vanity: "Quemadmodum prae ceteris in scientiis," he says of this period, "sic in inflatione et praesumptione omni profeci vel potuis defeci." Of his literary activity up to this time, no relic has come down to us, save the title of his magisterial thesis: *De ente et essentia.* The thesis itself was lost during his own lifetime. His judgment of its value may interest the student who has to deal with the subtle question whereof it treated: "In adolescentia mea, dum in studio et via Thomae instruerer, potius sensi quod esse et essentia distinguerentur realiter, unde et tunc de illa materia quemdam tractatulum compilavi: quem utinam nunc haberem, quia corrigerem. Etenim, diligentius consi-

[3] Mougel, *ib.*

derando, verius et probabilius ratus sum quod non realiter ab invicem differant."[4]

In the year 1423 he broke definitely with the world and entered the Carthusian monastery at Roermond, where most of the remaining forty-five years of his life were spent in prayer, study, and writing. These three words, says D. Mougel, sum up his activity during this portion of his life. Each of them stands for a dispensing of energy so large and so intense that the wonder is there was the least reserved for any other occupation. "Contemplationi et orationi cum tanto fervore instabat, ut eum nihil scribere unquam putares; rursum in scribendo et legendo tam sedulus erat, ut nec orare nec contemplari eum posse unquam aestimares."[5]

The intimate union of his soul with God rivalled the marvels of which one reads in the lives of the greatest saints. Eleven to twelve hours a day were sacred to religious exercises. The Psalms were his favorite form of prayer. He knew the entire Psalter by heart and recited most of it daily. The reward of his piety came in the form of extraordinary graces. Even whilst yet a novice, he was wrapt in ecstasy for several hours at a time, and the tendency towards these preternatural states of soul grew with the progress of his years and virtue, so that occasionally they extended to periods of seven continuous hours; and in the closing years of his life he could not sing the *Veni Sancte Spiritus* or certain verses of the Psalter, or converse on certain spiritual subjects, without being lifted from the earth and wrapt in God. It was during these hours of supernal union that God revealed to him so many secrets connected with the Church and society in those and in future times. The crimes of men in high places and of the various classes of society, that were provoking Divine Justice to chastisement, seemed especially revealed to him. "He was permitted to see from afar the fall of Constantinople, the victory of the Turks, the destruction of the Duchy of Gilder, etc. In the approaching reprobation of John of Heinsberg, the fifty-second bishop of Lüttich, he was shown the fate of all

[4] Mougel, p. 16.
[5] Mougel, p. 18.

such worldly prelates; and in the long purgatorial expiation of John of Louvain was revealed to him the punishment reserved for usurpers of ecclesiastical benefices."[6] These revelations gave occasion to many of his letters and *opuscula.* To them are due the *De Plurium Beneficiorum Usurpatione*, the *Contra Pluralitatem Beneficiorum*, and other minor works bearing on the duties of various states of life, ecclesiastical and lay.

Wonderful as was the supernatural life of Dionysius, what he accomplished in the way of reading and study challenges belief. A precious document, which he penned at the command of his religious superior, tells how he spent some of his time not devoted to prayer. The document deserves quoting in its entirety, for it reflects at once the immense power and industry of its author, no less than the perfect simplicity, straightforwardness, and lack of self-consciousness which were his well-known characteristics, and which alone save the document from being a monument of silly vanity or empty pride or falsehood:

"I, Brother Dionysius, thank God with all my heart for having called me so early, at the age of twenty-one years, to the religious state. I am now by God's favor forty-six years a Carthusian, and have during this time—the praise to God—indefatigably studied and read many authors. On the Sentences: St. Thomas, Albertus Magnus, Alexander of Hales, St. Bonaventure, Peter of Tarentaise, Aegidius Romanus, Richard of Middletown, Durandus, and many others.[7] I have read the works of St. Jerome, especially his commentary on the Prophets, besides SS. Augustine, Ambrose, Gregory, Dionysius the Areopagite, my favorite author, and Origen, SS. Gregory Nazianzen, Cyril, Basil, Chrysostom, John Damascene, and Boëthius, SS. Anselm and Bernard, Venerable Bede, Hugh (of St. Victor), Gerson, William of Paris, and others; moreover, all the *Summae* and Chronicles, all treatises on law, civil and canon, as far as could serve my purpose, all the commentaries on the Old and the New Testament. Finally, I have studied all the philosophers: Plato, Proclus, Aristotle, Avicenna, Algazel, Anaxagoras, Averroës, Alexander (of Aphrodisia), Alphorabius, Abubather, Evem-

[6] Mougel, p. 20.

[7] A larger list of the commentators on the Lombard is given in the introduction by Dionysius to his own work on the Sentences.

potes, Theophrastus, Themistius, and others.[8] With much difficulty, labor, and trouble has this exclusively mental task been of course accomplished, but for this very reason has it been most helpful to me in enabling me to mortify my senses and subdue my evil inclination; moreover, these studies preserved within me love for my cell."[9]

Any one who has attempted to read, say, the *Opera Omnia* of St. Augustine or of St Thomas, will realize the amount of time and energy, physical as well as mental, that went into the labor of this vast reading. That it was accomplished thoroughly may be inferred, not only from the general character of the man, but unmistakably from the use to which the information gathered from so many sources was put by Dionysius in his own productions.

So much of this remarkable man's time and energy were devoted to prayer and study that it seems little short of miraculous that he was able to accomplish anything besides worth the mention. So it appeared to Loer, his first editor and biographer, who declares that had he not had the experience of editing the Dionysian writings, he would not have believed *jurante toto mundo* that one man could have written so much; he adds: "Neminem audivi qui viri hujus laborem sine stupore viderit, qui non senserit mecum absque ingenti miraculo fieri non potuisse ut unus vir tot scripserit libros." To print the mere titles of his works would take up more than two double-column pages of this REVIEW. Various MS. lists of his works have come down to us. One preserved in the Bodleian Library,

[8] Elsewhere the list of philosophers mentioned is much larger. We know from quotations in his works that he was conversant with Plotinus, Porphyry, Hippocrates, Aicebron, Alkindi, Maimonides, and many other writers, Greek, Jewish, and Arabian. The theologians, canonists, historians, exegesists, cited by him seem really innumerable. He appears, however, to prefer St. Thomas in theology; St. Denis, the Areopagite, in asceticism; Josephus in history; Peter the Faster, Walafrid Strabo, author of the *Glossa*, Nicholas of Lyra, and Paul of Burgos for exegesis. The *Historia Scholastica* is quoted about two hundred times in his Commentary on Genesis. P. Prat, S.J., *Etudes*, February 20, 1897, p. 514: In estimating the studies and writings of Dionysius, one must keep in mind the fact that he enjoyed none of the facilities which have been born of the printing press, nor had he the electric light to illumine his vigils.

[9] *Protestatio ad Superiorem*, Mougel, pp. 21–22.

compiled by his own hand, mentions 118 titles; but it is certainly very deficient. The list will most probably sum up 162 titles. Of course, all these works are not of equal length or importance. Many of them are minor treatises; but a goodly number of them treat of subjects, each of which might well take up the busy life of an ordinary worker. There is, for instance, the Commentary on the entire Bible, from Genesis to the Apocalypse. This, in the new edition, now in course of publication, will take up fourteen to fifteen large quartos. Next comes the Commentary on the Sentences of the Lombard, which will extend to eight more quarto volumes. Then there are two equal tomes on the Areopagite; three on Boëthius, Cassian, and Climacus; four more are given to his sermons; and three supplemental volumes to the uncertain and the heretofore unpublished *opuscula*. The entire work will stand forth in forty-eight volumes quarto. In extent of production, Dionysius surpasses even St. Augustine twofold. Trithemius, who was not acquainted with all the writings of Dionysius, declares, in his *De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis*, that few if any Latin writers are comparable to him.

All this, of course, is gauging our author's fertility by the category of quantity, which, of itself, may serve indeed to measure his industry, but gives no assurance of intellectual superiority or intrinsic worth. It is, however, no less in point of quality that the works of Dionysius challenge our amazement. A test of their genuine value might well be taken from the eagerness with which the public received the early editions. Thus, for instance, his Gospel commentaries passed through seventeen editions in fifty-four years (1532-1586); the commentaries on the Acts and the Apostolic Epistles went through seventeen editions in twenty-five years (1530–1555); the commentaries on the Psalms and the Sapiential Books appeared seven times in twenty-two years (1533–1555); the treatise *De IV Novissimis* thirty times in less than a century. Many of his minor works passed through three, four, five, and more editions. The publication of these works created a rivalry amongst the book-

dealers, Paris, Venice, Cologne, Lyons, Antwerp, Louvain, and the rest, vying with each other in this respect.[10]

Another extrinsic sign of the value of the Dionysian productions would be the high encomiums passed on them at the time by competent scholars. But passing these by, we may find in the two volumes mentioned at the head of this paper sufficient intrinsic evidence of their author's merit. Two distinct works are here presented, the *Medulla D. Thomae* and the *Dialogion de Fide*. The former is not an original work. It is essentially a compendium of the *Summa Theologica*. It is not a mere excerpt from the original. It is the *Summa* compressed, not summarized. The whole is here in essence, but in lesser bulk. Dionysius has seized the full thought of St. Thomas and exhibited it in more compact shape. The face and the form of the Master are here, not in miniature, but lifelike; only the frame has been narrowed and the setting contracted. Any one familiar with the range and fulness of the *Summa* will discern the comprehensiveness of grasp and the clear, profound insight that were needed to make the *Medulla*.

The second of the two works above mentioned is the more original. It possesses a unique interest because of its form. The author's aim is to set forth the relative strength of the foundations of theology and philosophy, of the claims of faith in the light of reason and revelation. The thought moves in the form of a dialogue, a theologian presenting and defending the grounds and substance of faith, a philosopher championing the claims of reason. The whole sphere of supernatural truth as summarized in the articles of faith are thus covered, analyzed, and explained. The work reflects in a lesser light the mental and spiritual endowments which in larger and brighter colors are visible in the author's Commentary on the Sentences. These are extensive erudition, great speculative power, and, above all, the illumined zeal which makes all converge to the final end of sacred science, the union of the human soul with God. The first of these qualities, the scholarly element, is patent in the work at hand from the familiarity shown with

[10] Mougel, p. 52.

the inspired Scriptures. The words and phrases of Holy Writ flow into the arguments spontaneously on all sides, showing how thoroughly saturated was the author's consciousness with the Sacred Text. Hardly second to the sacred lore are the signs of familiarity with human speculation. The profane philosophers, Plato and Aristotle especially amongst the Greeks, and "the Commentator" Averroës amongst the mediævals, appear on every page, now as furnishing direct aids to faith, now as presenting the specious arguments and sophistry that call for refutation and thus indirectly make for the cause of truth.

But with Dionysius both the inspired doctrine and the wisdom of human philosophy were habitually present as illuminating the mind only that the heart might be drawn closer to God. This, the abiding consciousness of the saints, prevails throughout and permeates completely all his commentaries on the Scriptures. From a critico-historical standpoint these works in the light of recent Biblical study leave, of course, something to be desired. But the author is first a theologian and then an exegete; and his theology is eminently practical. It is theology in the cause of asceticism; the light of the intellect converting itself into the motion of affection, energy, conduct.

The matter and inner form of the *Dialogion de Fide* exhibit in relative miniature the outlines and more prominent features of the author's personality. The outer form or style is no less characteristic. "Styli colorem vitare propono," he says in opening his Commentary on the Psalter. In all he wrote his nearest aim was to make himself understood. Hence he was first and last in writing, as in speech and action, simple and straightforward. The *emunctae naris critici* will, of course, find in his style some variations from the classical models. And yet there is a charm about his direct, simple phrasing which, whilst letting through the light of thought, makes one feel the glow of the writer's soul. Of his works he might well have said what his no less illustrious school-mate, Nicholas of Cusa, had remarked when commenting on Cassian: "Non retrahet, rogo, quemque a legendo incultus stylus; apertus enim absque fuco clarissimus sensus humiliori eloquio etsi non avidius, facilius tamen rapitur."

The two works above mentioned rank amongst the principal of the Dionysian productions in the theological category. The chief, however, of this class is his Commentary on the Sentences, which is a monument of erudition and critical analysis. Yet nothing could be simpler than the plan on which it is constructed. First comes the text of the Lombard, with a short explanation. Then follow the various problems which the question in hand has occasioned. Next are set forth all the solutions which writers hitherto have proposed, and lastly the author's own opinion is explained thoroughly, yet with singular modesty. "It is wonderful," says Cassani, "how in these apparent sketches one finds as in fair miniature the tenets of so many learned men. None of them is distorted in feature or proportions. Nothing essential is omitted. The work is a real theological library of twofold value, since in a few pages it affords the reader easy command of all that can be of interest to him on the given topics, and at the same time is a substitute for a goodly number of works that have now become extremely rare."

Amongst the large variety of the author's theological treatises on special subjects should be mentioned the *De Venustate Mundi*, a monograph whose richness of fact and inference is surpassed only by its beauty. A recent Protestant scholar has written its eulogy, pronouncing it the most important contribution to æsthetics that has come down to us from the Middle Ages. It brings out a trait in the personality of Dionysius which might escape those who see in him only the learned commentator and the deep-seeing thinker, or the mortified recluse. A love for the beautiful in nature and in true art is characteristic of all holy souls, so that one should not be surprised to find in the "iron head" of Dionysius artistic appreciation and even execution of a high order. Living as he did for some years in Cologne, under the shadow of its ascending Münster, and surrounded by the influences that made that city in his day the centre of letters and art in Germany, the æsthetic elements of his susceptive character must needs have been stimulated and cultivated. Loer tells us that Dionysius not only wrote with his own hand every line

of his works, and even duplicated some of them, but that he also rubricated his works.

We know that he was a poet, for older catalogues of his works mention his *Carmina.* Only one of these poems has come down to us; but hidden amongst his apparently prose works are a number of genuine poems. This fact escaped his earlier editors, but will be brought out in the new recension. What has heretofore been printed as a prose treatise, the *De Laudibus Superlaudabilis Dei,* is a poem of 1950 strophes, consisting of from two to eight verses, making in all 11,000 to 12,000 lines. The same is true of fourteen hymns of the treatise *De Laudibus SS. Trinitatis,* and of the hymns and lessons of the *Laudes de Domini Passione.*

Though never actively engaged in the pastoral ministry, a large part of Dionysius' writings is in the form of sermons. His motive in adopting this form of writing is given in his characteristic simplicity: "Ego qui ex religione quam professus sum clausus sum nec egredi valeo, quanto minus haec [peccatores convertere] facere queo loquendo, tanto plus ea agere opto scribendo, colligendo, dictando . . . compilando sermones."

In these discourses, the three sides or phases of the great Carthusian's mind are reflected. In them the exegete, the theologian, and the ascetic combine. Of their matter and value, we may let the Protestant historian, Moll, give his unbiassed judgment. "These sermons," he says, "are a large repertoire in two volumes,[11] available for preachers, whether they choose to deliver the discourse verbatim, or to use them in the way of suggestive material. Dionysius has at least one sermon for every Sunday and Feast-day of the year; often he gives four, six, even eight. There are some *ad plebem;* others, *ad religiosos;* so that they are useful for the parish church and for the cloister. The author explains each Epistle and Gospel in an edifying manner; on the lives of various saints he gives the desired instruction; in many of his sermons, like Thomas à Kempis, he confirms his doctrine by examples or questions which furnish him matter for fresh development.

[11] He refers to the Cologne edition.

His sermons are, on the whole, simple and practical. Some are only conferences; others consist of two or three divisions, according to the requirements of the subject-matter. The style is always appropriate and earnest, and the reflections, however simple they may be, are always attractively presented."[12] Another distinguished Dutch authority thus succinctly sums up his opinion concerning our author: "Dionysius, if not one of the most learned, is at least one of the most productive writers of the whole world. He cultivated the field of theology with astonishing energy. His commentaries on the Sacred Scriptures are in no wise behind those of his time; his theological treatises and commentaries reflect equal science and solidity. To the eye of the critic, his meditations may seem somewhat strained, but to pious souls they are replete with unction. His sermons and homilies flow smoothly, and are rich with passages from the Bible and the Fathers."[13]

Besides the larger productions thus far mentioned, Dionysius wrote numerous minor works, occasioned by the political, social, and religious circumstances of his times. Some of these, such as his letter to the Christian rulers, *De Bello Instituendo Adversus Turcas*, and the treatise *Contra Alcoran*, show their purpose plainly in the titles. "In the quiet of solitude and under the eye of God, and in view of the future revival that had been revealed to him in visions, he directed against the Turks the five books of his treatise *Contra Alcoran*. With a view to renewal of life within the Church, he wrote, besides his important work *De Auctoritate Papae et Generalium Conciliorum*, numerous minor *opuscula*. The titles alone witness to the important range of these productions: *De Regimine Praesulum — Archidiaconorum — Canonicorum — Curatorum — Scholarium; De Reformatione Claustralium — Monialium; De Laudabili Vita Principum — Nobilium — Conjugatorum — Virginum — Viduarum — Inclusarum — Mercatorum; De Vita Militari; De Regimine Politiae; Contra Simoniam; — Ambitionem — Pluralitatem Beneficiorum*, etc."[14] The mere mention of these works shows

[12] Moll, *Kerkgeschiedenis* II, p. 400; *cf.* Mougel, p. 40.
[13] Habets, *ap.* Mougel, *ib.*
[14] Mougel, p. 48.

how the enlightened vision and the large heart of the great Carthusian went out to all the world. Every class of society was studied by him; and he drew up firm rules for the moral guidance of every rank and state of life. His *opuscula* are at once a reflex of the social and religious conditions of his times and of his own broad-mindedness and penetration; but above all, of the apostolic zeal which impelled him in all ways to preach the word of God, to be instant in season and out of season; to reprove, entreat, rebuke, with all patience and doctrine.

It does not fall within the scope of this paper to treat of other labors of this wonderful man—of his multiplied duties as procurator of his monastery, as overseer and builder of a new monastic foundation, of his labors as companion and advisor of Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa in his prolonged legational mission to Germany, etc. These and the like occupations present a distinct and no less interesting side of a life which, while primarily contemplative, could none the less, or rather all the more, put forth a phase in the highest degree fruitful when necessity called him to be active.

Any one who calmly surveys the life of Dionysius cannot fail to marvel at the vastness and multiplicity of its immediate productions, or to inquire into the secret of its wonderful fertility. Several answers await such an inquiry. First of all, Providence had gifted him with an exceptionally robust constitution. He used to say of himself that he had "a head of iron and a stomach of brass." That the metaphor suited the former part of his organism may be inferred from the fact that during his monastic career he usually slept but three hours out of the twenty-four; and yet it was in this period that his brain was doing the instrumental part of his immense intellectual constructions. That the figure was equally appropriate in respect to his organic powers, is evident from his perfect indifference to the quality of his sustenance. He seemed entirely oblivious to what he ate and drank, partaking of anything that might be placed before him.

Secondly, he was endowed with a tenacious and faithful memory, a broadly synthetic and keenly analytic mind, sound

judgment, sustained reasoning power—in a word, with all the mental qualities that are necessary to make a ripe scholar and a profound theologian.

But the main secret of his success lies in the unity of purpose which directed and centered all the forces of his being: "die Macht eines Lebens welches versteht eins zu sein," as his latest biographer puts it,—'the power of a life that knows how to be one. Throughout his whole career Dionysius had a single aim in view, to restore in all its integrity the Kingdom of Christ on earth; and because he continued unfailingly true to this purpose it was given him to accomplish great results."[15]

So remarkable a man as Dionysius must have had some high providential mission in the history of the Church. What may that mission have been? We can find no better reply to this question than that offered by Dom Mougel. "The vocation of Dionysius in our opinion consisted in preparing the way for a new epoch. Placed in the design of Providence at the passing of the Middle Ages and its institutions, he was in lesser degree to exhibit an activity such as Moses had shown in times remote: to aid the Church in her passage across another Red Sea. For forty years God drew him close to Himself in prayer and contemplation, revealing to him the crimes of human society tottering to destruction: above, contempt of authority; in the middle, inflated science grown rebellious; below, corruption; everywhere, a strong tendency to withdraw from the motherly guidance of Rome, that had been so universally desired in the preceding centuries —the beginning of a process of fermentation which, as is well known, resulted in complete severance. Then did God show to his servant beyond the Sea and the Desert the Church renewed; and how under changed circumstances and relations she was to pursue her course along the ages. And through forty years did the great Carthusian labor in his solitary cell, under the impress of the Divine revelations, at the Law Book for the coming generation which he was never to see; he synthesizes the entire theological and mystical science of the

[15] Mougel, p. 86.

Middle Ages, and draws up a rule of life for all classes, from the Supreme Shepherd to the lowest of the flock. He was never indeed to enter the promised land, never even to look upon it from afar; for the times were steadily growing worse; the grave closed over him whilst the Church still lay in the beginning of her great sorrows." [16]

Dionysius died in 1471, and was buried in the little Carthusian cemetery by the monastery in Roermond. His grave became a place of pilgrimage, and many in the neighborhood ascribed wonderful favors to his intercession. But the awful storms of the Reformation swept away with fire and sword monk and monastery, and for a time even the traces of his resting-place were obliterated. The voice, however, of the faithful witnessing to the sanctity of Dionysius was not stifled. It went up to him with fullest confidence as to a saint. Art pictured him with the aureola; his name passed into the martyrology; his relics were cherished religiously; and the title "Blessed" and "Venerable" came spontaneously to be prefixed to his name. Whether or not God has in store for His servant the honors which the Church alone can accord by raising him to veneration on her altars, the future will reveal. Possibly the republication of his works may open a beginning in this direction. "In life he was the oracle of his contemporaries, and after his death his influence in the Church was, for a time, no less effective and deep-reaching." May not one echo the belief and the hope of his biographer that it may again be so in the future? No teaching could be more timely in these days of spiritual weakness and decay than that which came from the strong, self-forgetting, God-seeking soul of Dionysius the Carthusian.

Overbrook, Pa. F. P. SIEGFRIED.

[16] Mougel, p. 52.

Analecta.

E S. R. UNIV. INQUISITIONE.

UTRUM LOCUS SIT PRIVILEGIO PAULINO, QUANDO PARS INFIDELIS VULT CONVERTI, SED NON VULT COHABITARE CUM CONIUGE CONVERSO.

Beatissime Pater:

Superior Missionis N. N. ad S. V. pedes provolutus, exponit prout sequitur.

Vir aliquis, cum nondum baptizatus erat, iunctus est matrimonio cum muliere et ipsa gentili. Postea vir baptizatus est. At propter rixas continuas dereliquerunt cohabitationem. Vir christianus asserit se numquam mulierem hanc voluisse sibi sumere in voluntate uxorem. Haec adhuc gentilis, et baptizari desiderans, ad virum redire non vult. An licet in his adiunctis, dum mulier baptizata nondum est, viro nubere aliam? Hanc quaestionem S. V. humiliter submitto.

Feria IV, die 26 Aprilis 1899.

In Congregatione Generali ab EEmis ac RRmis DD. Cardinalibus in rebus fidei et morum Inquisitoribus Generalibus

habita, proposito suprascripto casu, praehabitoque RR. DD. Consultorum voto, iidem EEmi ac RRmi Patres respondendum mandarunt:

Curet Superior Missionis totis viribus, ut compositis iurgiis ac dissensionibus, coniuges iterum uniantur et pars infidelis convertatur. Si autem ipsa renuat culpa viri converti, hunc adigat, etiam, si opus sit, per poenas canonicas, ad satisfaciendum parti laesae. Si vero vir conversus nullum ei dederit iustum ac rationabile motivum discedendi, aut parti laesae iam satisfecerit, ac in periculo versetur damnationis aeternae, tunc hic, post formalem interpellationem, poterit ad alia vota transire; et ad mentem.—Mens est ut in dubio iudicium sit in favorem fidei.

Sequenti vero feria VI, die 28 eiusdem mensis et anni, in audientia a SS. D. N. Leone Div. Prov. Pp. XIII R. P. D. Adsessori impertita SSmus resolutionem EE. ac RR. Patrum adprobavit et confirmavit.

I. *Can.* MANCINI, *S. R. et U. Inquis. Not.*

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE EPISCOPORUM ET REGULARIUM.

DE NOVITIATU PERACTO POST DUBIAM BAPTISMI COLLATIONEM.

Reverendissime Pater:

Frater N. N., e Protestantismo ad Fidem Catholicam conversus, religionemque FF. Praedicatorum ingressus, laudabiliter novitiatum complevit, et voto unanimi Consilii et Capituli Conventus N., Provinciae N., in . . . siti, ad Professionem Simplicem admissus est. Inopinate, ante diem Professionis, dubia de validitate Baptismi a ministro acatholico ipsi collati exorta sunt et Episcopus loci Baptismum iterandum ordinavit. Exinde Prior Conventus N. humillime a Sancta Sede sanationem in radice petit novitiatus egregie a Fratre N. N. peracti, si forte ob defectum Baptismi invalidus fuerit.

Et Deus.

Vigore specialium facultatum a Sanctissimo Domino Nostro concessarum, Sacra Congregatio Eminentissimorum ac Reverendissimorum S. R. E. Cardinalium, Negotiis et Consultatio-

nibus Episcoporum et Regularium praeposita, audita relatione P. Procuratoris Generalis Ordinis, benigne commisit Magistro Generali, ut veris existentibus narratis, petitam sanationem iuxta preces, pro suo arbitrio et conscientia concedat; emissa tamen ab ipso Religioso declaratione, se uti velle praesenti Indulto; quae declaratio caute servanda erit in Archivio memoratae Provinciae. Contrariis quibuscumque non obstantibus.

Romae, 25 Novembris 1898.

S. *Card.* VANNUTELLI, *Praef.*

L. † S. A. TROMBETTA, *Secret.*

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE RITUUM.

I.

VARIA DUBIA CIRCA EXEQUIAS.

R. D. Emmanuel M. Garcia Caeremoniarum Magister Cathedralis Ecclesiae Gaditanae de consensu sui Rmi Episcopi, sequentia dubia quae frequenter occurrunt in exequiis, Sacrae Rituum Congregationi pro opportuna solutione humillime exposuit, nimirum:

I. Cum sepeliendum est cadaver alicuius Canonici seu Beneficiati huius Cathedralis Ecclesiae Gaditanae iuxta consuetudinem duae cruces praeferuntur in processione; una processionalis Ecclesiae Cathedralis, altera quae dicitur Capitularis. Quum autem Rituale Romanum tit. 6 cap. 3, n. 1 dicat: "clerico praeferente crucem etc." quaeritur: Utrum tolerari possit haec consuetudo? et quatenus negative, quaenam ex dictis crucibus praeferenda sit?

II. Circa modum quo cadaver componendum est, inter alia praecipit Rituale tit. 5 cap. 8, n. 4: "ac parva crux super pectus inter manus defuncti ponatur, aut ubi crux desit, manus in modum crucis componantur." Quum autem in Dioecesi Gaditana et in aliis eiusdem regionis adsit consuetudo ponendi inter manus defuncti (si fuerit sacerdos) non parvam crucem sed potius calicem qui aliquando solet esse argenteus, et ad Missae celebrationem assignatus; quaeritur: Permitti potest haec praxis?

III. Circa translationem cadaveris e domo in coemeterium omnes docent deferendum esse pedibus versus ulterius, si laicus fuerit defunctus; sin autem clericus, non omnes conveniunt; aliqui auctores docent in hoc postremo casu cadaver esse deferendum pedibus retro, et huic opinioni favet praxis in aliquibus locis servata clericorum cadavera deferendi capite versus ulterius. Etiam textus Ritualis congruere videtur huic sententiae dum asserit "presbyteri vero habeatur caput versus altare" tit. 6 cap. 1, n. 17. Quaeritur ergo, utrum tenenda sit haec sententia et praxis?

IV. In Rituali tit. 6, cap. 3, n. 1, legitur: "parocho praecedente feretrum etc." hoc non obstante, in civitate Gaditana viget consuetudo qua defunctus si e clero cathedrali sit, defertur praecedens eum, qui officium sepulturae peragit, id est in medio eorum qui assistunt processioni. Est-ne toleranda haec consuetudo?

V. Quum Rituale dicat tit. 6, cap. 4, n. 4 "lectiones leguntur etc." tolerari potest consuetudo eas decantandi, praecipue vero si ita fiat, a musicorum coetu, prout fit in Cathedrali Ecclesia Gaditana quoad primam et secundam lectionem?

Et Sacra eadem Congregatio, referente subscripto Secretario, exquisito etiam voto Commissionis liturgice, attentis expositis respondendum censuit:

Ad I. Quoad primam quaestionem *Negative*, et quoad alteram: *Crux Capitularis* quae est etiam Crux Ecclesiae Cathedralis.

Ad II. *Affirmative* dummodo calix adhibeatur qui Missae non inserviat.

Ad III. *Negative*, et cadaver cuiuscumque defuncti pedibus ulterius per viam deferatur: in Ecclesia autem quoad sacerdotes servetur Rituale Romanum.

Ad IV. *Servetur Rituale Romanum.*

Ad V. *Affirmative.*

Atque ita rescripsit. Die 8 Iunii 1899.

C. *Card.* MAZZELLA, *S. R. C. Praef.*

L. ✝ S. D. PANICI, *Secret.*

II.

Circa anniversarium pro defuncto Episcopo.

Rmus Dnus Ioseph Camassa Episcopus Melphien. et Rapollen. sequentis dubii solutionem a Sacra Rituum Congregatione humillime expetivit; nimirum:

Aloysio Bovio, Episcopo Melphien. et Rapollen., qui in hac sede sua obiit anno 1847, successit Ignatius Maria Sellitti, qui, anno 1881 episcopatum abdicavit, nec ei altera sedes seu titulus alicuius Ecclesiae collatus fuit, sed appellabatur: *Iam Episcopus Melphien. et Rapollen.* et mense Aprili, hoc currente anno, cessit e vita in patria sua. Hinc quaeritur:

Utrum anniversarium in Cathedralibus Ecclesiis celebrandum pro ultimo Episcopo defuncto fieri debeat, adhuc pro primo, seu Episcopo Bovio, vel pro altero nempe Episcopo Sellitti?

Et Sacra eadem Congregatio, referente subscripto Secretario, attentis expositis, suprascripto dubio respondendum censuit: *Affirmative* ad primam partem, *Negative* ad secundam.

Atque ita rescripsit, die 2 Iunii 1899.

C. *Card.* Mazzella, *S. R. C. Praef.*

L. † S. Diomedes Panici, *S. R. C. Secret.*

Conferences.

THE AMERICAN ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW proposes to answer in this department questions of general (not merely local or personal) interest to the Clergy. Questions suitable for publication, when addressed to the editor, receive attention in due turn, but in no case do we pledge ourselves to reply to all queries, either in print or by letter.

OUR ANALECTA.

The Roman documents for the month are:

I.—S. CONGREGATION OF THE INQUISITION:

Determines the application of the Pauline Privilege in the case of two parties, one of whom has received baptism after marriage, and the other, likewise desiring to be baptized, is unwilling to recognize the validity of the previous marriage bond.

II.—S. CONGREGATION OF BISHOPS AND REGULARS:

Grants to the Master-General of the Dominicans the right of applying a *sanatio in radice* in the case of a convert novice, who, on the eve of his profession, having serious doubts about the validity of his Protestant baptism, is rebaptized and immediately to be admitted to the solemn profession.

III.—S. CONGREGATION OF RITES:

1. Decides a number of rubrical doubts, among which are: (*a*) that the chalice which is placed in the hands of a dead priest at his obsequies should be a chalice *not used for the celebration of the Mass;* (*b*) that the Lessons of the Office at a funeral may be chanted by a choir.
2. Answers the question whether the injunction of celebrating the anniversary Mass (in cathedral churches) for the last deceased bishop applies to

the last bishop who died whilst actual ordinary of the diocese, or to one who died later, but who had resigned some time before his death. The Mass is to be said for the bishop who died as ordinary of the diocese.

THE MADONNA SYMBOLIZED BY NOAH'S ARK.

Mr. Caryl Coleman sends us the following interpretation of the rainbow in pictures of our Blessed Lady, commented on by us in the October number of the REVIEW. We showed by citations from the Christian Fathers—Chrysostom, Jerome, Ambrose, Augustine, Cyprian, Gregory, Basil, Bernard, John Damascene, and the rest—that the symbolism drawn from the early teaching in the Christian Church was intended to express by the heavenly arc the office and attributes of the Mother of Christ. Nevertheless it is true, as our correspondent points out, that some writers, such as St. Ephraim, Hesychius and Chrysippus, by a natural association of ideas identified the Mother who preserved life through Christ unto mankind, with the Ark of Noah, to which the rainbow formed a proper accompaniment. Mr. Coleman writes:

"It will be remembered that after the Deluge Almighty God promised never more to destroy this world with water, and as a sign of this promise He created the rainbow: 'I will set my bow in the clouds, and it shall be the sign of a covenant between me, and between the earth.'

"Christian artists from very early times, almost invariably when depicting the Ark of Noah, placed a representation of this bow in the sky, at the back of and above the Ark, and in this way telling symbolically the story of the Deluge, the preservation of mankind, and the promise of eternal hope.

"The Christian writers and the Fathers of the Church have always looked upon the Ark as a symbol of the Blessed Virgin. St. Ephraim, writing in the fourth century, says that Mary is the 'sacred ark whereby we are saved from the deluge of sin;' and Hesychius of Jerusalem, almost a contemporary of the foregoing, says: 'Mary is an ark broader, longer, more celebrated than that of Noah. The one was an ark for

animals, the other the ark of life.' Again, Chrysippus (A. D. 455) in his *Homilia in Deiparam*, compares Mary to the two arks: 'An ark most precious is the ever Virgin Mother of God, an ark which received the treasure of entire sanctification. Not that ark wherein were all kinds of animals, as in the Ark of Noah, which escaped the shipwreck of the whole drowning world. Not that ark in which were the tables of stone, as in the ark that journeyed in company with Israel throughout the desert; but an ark whose architect and inhabitant, pilot and merchant, companion of the way and leader, was the Creator of all creatures, all which He bears in Himself, but by all is not contained.'

"In consequence of this line of thought, the image of the ark, in the language of Christian symbologists, became a symbol of the ever Virgin Mother. A bow usually accompanied this symbol, not always a bow of the seven colors of the solar spectrum, but of two or more symbolic colors—colors typical of the virtues that preëminently clothed the soul of the spotless Mother of God.

"This bow is used in Christian Art not only to crown the symbol, but also as the actual representation of the Immaculate *Foederis Arca*, as in the case of the picture of Our Lady of Good Counsel.

"The questioner seems to be in some doubt as to whether there are two or three colors, and whether or not one of the colors is red or yellow. However, the symbolism is plain. In this case blue stands for fidelity to grace, red for love, and yellow for faith.

"To give the reasons why the above are the true significations of the symbolical colors would take too much time, and in all probability they are well known to you.

"CARYL COLEMAN."

WAS ST. PAUL EVER IN SPAIN?

Qu. Lesêtre in his *La Sainte Eglise des Apôtres*, and other writers, like Fouard in his *Life of St. Paul*, mention St. Paul's journey to Spain. None of the charts, however, which pretend to give the outlines of St. Paul's missionary travels, mark this journey. Is there any historical warrant for the assumption that St. Paul ever actually went to Spain? It is clear, of course, from his Epistle to the Romans (15: 24) that he *intended* to go to Spain; but did he ever do so? I think the question is of considerable interest, especially since the study of the Sacred Scriptures, and particularly of St. Paul's interesting apostolate, is being taken up in our schools and colleges in a popular way.

Resp. Although the Sacred Text says nothing of St. Paul's journey to Spain, except the expressions referred to in the Epistle to the Romans: "When I shall begin to take my journey into Spain" (15 : 24); and again: "When, therefore, I shall have accomplished this . . . I will come by you into Spain,"—there is some foundation in tradition to make us believe that the Apostle actually undertook the journey. The following are some of the arguments which seem to favor the opinion.

St. Clement of Rome, who was a close friend of St. Paul, and the one to whom, as Origen assures us,[1] the Apostle refers when he mentions the name of Clement in his Epistle to the Philippians, states in a Pastoral Letter to the Corinthians (5 : 7), that St. Paul went in his missionary journeys to the extreme west—ἐπὶ τὸ τέρμα τῆς δύσεως—which, as Hefele[2] observes, must have meant Spain, if we consider that Clement wrote his letter at Rome. Tillemont, assuming that by the expression τὸ τέρμα τῆς δύσεως Pope Clement meant the so-called pillars of Hercules, states[3] without hesitation that no other country but Spain could have been meant.

P. Agus, in his commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans (1888), refers to the Διδαχὴ τῶν δώδεκα Αποστόλων, which belongs to the first century, as affirming that the Apostle went from Illyria to Italy and thence to Spain.[4]

The so-called *Muratorian Fragment*, a document composed about the year 170, within the Roman province, speaks explicitly of a journey made by Paul from Rome to Spain.[5]

Apart from these early sources, we have a definite statement in the Roman Martyrology, March 22 (XI Kal. April.), the feast of another St. Paul, a disciple and companion of the Apostle, and presumably the Sergius Paulus, Proconsul, whom the Apostle had converted and baptized in Cyprus.[6]

[1] *In Joann.*, edit. Bened. IV, 153.

[2] *Kirchengesch.*, p. 43.

[3] *Not. 73 in Paul.*

[4] Agus, *Ep. B. Pauli ad Rom.*, p. 770. We were unable to locate this passage in the original, and repeat it simply on the authority of an author who is generally accurate.

[5] *Cf.* Harnack, *Z. f. K. G.*, III, 1879, 358; text 596.

[6] *Cf.* Acts 13 : 7.

The writer of the Martyrology says that this Paul accompanied the Apostle on his journey to Spain as far as Narbonne, where he was left to preside over the newly-established church whilst the Apostle continued westward into Spain.

Nearly all the early Fathers hold the same tradition:— St. Athanasius (*Epist. ad Dracont.*, n. 3); St. Epiphanius (*Haer.* XXVII, 6); St. John Chrysostom (*Ep. ad Hebr.*), who gives the time and circumstances of the journey— "after two years' imprisonment in Rome he was set free, and then set out for Spain; thence he returned to Palestine, and thence to Rome, where he was put to death under Nero." St. Jerome (in Amos., V, 8) is equally explicit; also St. Gregory the Great (L. 31 *Mor.*, c. 53); Theodoret (II Tim. 4: 17); Theophylact, and many others of later date naturally followed these authorities.

Objections have been raised against the conclusions drawn from the above testimony, on the ground that Pope Gelasius, who lived in the fifth century, expressly denies that St. Paul went to Spain. St. Thomas also mentions this fact in his commentary. But the answer is made that the Pontiff, in the decree referred to, simply states that the Apostle did not go to Spain *directly* after the visit to Rome spoken of in his Epistle to the Romans, as had evidently been his first intention. It does not exclude what is evident from other testimony, namely, that he went later when released from imprisonment. Against the assertion of Estius, that no Christian community had been actually established in Spain during Apostolic times, we have the authorities cited by Vasaeus, who, in his Chronology of the Spanish Church drawn from Sophronius, shows that Probus, a convert of St. Paul, together with his family, and Philotheus, one of the Celtiberian princes, as well as his people, practised the Christian faith in the first century;[7] and the abbé Fretté, in his recently published *L'Apôtre S. Paul* (p. 469), points out that the first bishop of Toledo was a son of the Roman prefect Marcellus, and a convert of St. Paul; that Rufus, Bishop of Tortosa, in Spain, was likewise a contemporary of the Apostle. Fretté gives other interesting

[7] *Cf.* Agus, *loc. cit.*

dates concerning the foundation of the Church in the Spanish provinces, all of which confirm the belief that St. Paul had actually been there. In the same work we also find a chart outlining the (more or less probable) journey from Malta over Naples, and along the coast through the Narbonensian territory down to Saguntum in the Spanish peninsula.

AN APPLICATION OF THE PAULINE PRIVILEGE.

Not long ago a missionary proposed to the Sacred Congregation of the Inquisition the following doubt: A man and woman, both unbaptized, are married. After a time the husband is baptized. Quarrels arise between him and the woman, whom, he asserts, he never intended to recognize as a true wife. Now she also desires to be baptized, but in turn is unwilling to live with the man who has spurned her. May the man contract a new marriage, so long as the woman is not yet baptized? It will be noticed that there is here no question of the "contumelia Creatoris" as a consequence of the conversion of one of the parties.

The S. Congregation answers: Let the missionary strive by all means to reconcile the two parties, so that the woman may become a Christian, and both live in union. If the fault which hinders their reconciliation lies with the man, he should be obliged to give her every just satisfaction to induce her to live with him. If he is not at fault, or if he has offered to give satisfaction and actually done so, feeling at the same time that his eternal salvation is involved in his state of life, then, having made the customary formal interpellation, he is to be declared free to marry again, since the doubt as to the validity of his previous marriage may be construed in *favorem fidei*. The text of the case is given in the *Analecta* of this number.

CONFESSIONAL BOXES.

Qu. What are the strict requirements of the Rubrics for confessionals?

I have a confessional built in the wall of one of the side chapels of the church. The entrance for the priest is from the vestry, whilst the

penitent enters from the church proper. There is a false door fronting in the church from the priest's compartment, the upper half of which consists of open brass work. The penitent is entirely shut up by an ordinary door leading to his compartment, and of course cannot be seen by the people. The priest cannot easily be seen by the people except through the open brass work of the false door of his compartment. The priest is altogether separated from the penitent by a wooden partition broken only by the usual wire screen.

Do you think that there is any rubrical objection to this kind of a confessional?

What would you consider essential in the construction of a confessional so as to carry out the spirit of the Church, in her wise regulations concerning the sacred Tribunal?

Resp. The above-described confessional appears to us to be within the essential rubrical requirements: "Sedes patenti, conspicuo et apto ecclesiae loco posita." (Rit. Rom.)

REGARDING THE SIBYLLINE BOOKS.

Father Hillig's article, which critically reviews the estimate of Christian antiquity regarding the Sibylline Oracles, will prove of special interest to theological students familiar with the treatise of Professor Harris (Cambridge, 1885), who compares the Sibylline Books with the *Didache*, and finds that different parts of both works are traceable to one and the same author, known under the name of Pseudo-Phokylides. This writer is supposed to have been a Hellenistic Jew of the first century, who composed a manual of the Mosaic faith for the enlightenment of pagan converts. Harris proves a perfect parallelism in several places between the *Didache* and the Oracles, and endorses the generally accepted view that the latter are remnants of mixed pagan, Jewish, and Christian traditions borrowed from the *libri fatales*, which were at one time kept in the Roman capitol. Of these it is said that some authentic verses are preserved in Phlegon's book *De rebus mirabilibus*. Phlegon of Tralles was a Greek historian of the second century, and it is quite likely that he was familiar with sources and traditions that may have escaped Lactantius and those who followed him. This would some-

what impair Father Hillig's argument appealing to Stilicho's destruction of the original, and assuming that it could not have been replaced to any extent, which would give value of originality to the present text of the Sibylline books.

The Acrostic.

The famous acrostic in the Sibylline Books, of which Father Hillig gives us the Greek text, has been rendered into Latin by different authors. The one commonly printed, by Sebastian Castalio, reads:

"*J*udicii signum tellus sudoribus edet,
*E*xque polo veniet rex tempus in omne futurus,
*S*cilicet ut carnem omnem, ut totum judicet orbem.
*U*nde Deum fidi diffidentesque videbunt,
*S*ummum cum sanctis in secli fine sedentem,
*C*orporeorum animas hominum quo judicet, olim
*H*orrebit totus cum densis vepribus orbis.
*R*ejicient et opes homines, simulachraque cuncta.
*E*xuretque ignis terras, coelumque, salumque.
*I*ncendetque fores angusti carceris Orci.
*S*anctorumque omnis caro libera reddita, lucem
*T*unc repetet: semper cruciabit flamma scelestos.
*U*tque quis occulte peccaverit, omnia dicet.
*S*ub lucemque Deus reserabit pectora clausa.
*D*entes stridebunt, crebrescent undique luctus:
*E*t lux deficiet solemque nitentiaque astra.
*I*nvolvet coelos et lunae splendor obibit:
*F*ossas attolet, juga deprimet ardua montes.
*I*mpedietque nihil mortales amplius altum.
*L*onga carina fretum non scindet: montibus arva
*I*psa aequabuntur: nam fulmine torrida tellus,
*U*nque et sicci fontes, et flumina hiabunt.
*S*idereisque sono tristi tuba clanget ab oris,
*S*tultorum facinus moerens, mundique dolores.
*E*t chaos ostendet, et tartara, terra dehiscens.
*R*egesque ad solium sistentur numinis omnes.
*U*ndaque de coelo fluet ignea sulphure mixto.
*A*tque omnes homines signum praesigne notabit.
*T*empore eo lignum, cornu peramabile fidis,
*O*ppositus mundo casus, sed vita piorum,
*R*espergendo lavans duodeno fonte vocatos,
*C*ompescetque pedo ferrata cuspide gentes.
*R*ex tibi nunc nostris descriptus in ordine summo
*V*ersibus, hic noster Deus est, nostraeque salutis
*C*onditor aeternus, perpessus nomine nostro,
*S*incera hunc Moses expressit brachia tendens," etc.

Gyraldus gives another version found in the edition of Xystus Betulejus, under "Eusebii judicium" in the *Annotationes;* still another is to be found in the notes to St. Augustine's *De Civit. Dei.* These translations preserve the initials of the Greek distich.

THE ORIGIN OF AURICULAR CONFESSION.

To the Editor AMERICAN ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW:

As this question has of late been brought into relief by Father Casey's brochure and by Father Delplace's paper in the October REVIEW, the presentation of a new aspect of it will be timely. An important dissertation on the History of Penance, written by M. A. Boudinhon, apropos of Mr. Lea's work, appeared in two instalments in the *Revue d'histoire et littérature religieuses*, of 1897, and, as far as my observation has gone, neither Father Casey nor Father Delplace has taken any notice of it.

The author asserts that auricular confession is indeed of divine institution, but that its present form is a result of a development or series of modifications of what was practised in the primitive Church. The only penance known to the first centuries, says M. Boudinhon—who is presumably a priest—was the public canonical penance, which was sacramental; and Confession, in its present form, dates from the eleventh or twelfth century, being descended from the public penances through modifications and mitigations brought about by changing conditions in the Church.

In proof of the non-existence of our auricular confession in those times, he notes the silence of the early Fathers. He quotes in full the letter of Leo I, cited by Father Delplace as an argument of the primitive practice of Confession, and holds that the injunction to secrecy refers merely to the avowal preceding the imposition of public penance. M. Boudinhon, however, does not, at least directly, explain the words of Pope Innocent: "De poenitentibus vero qui sive ex gravioribus commissis sive ex *levioribus* poenitentiam gerunt," etc.; for, as is well known, the early public penances were imposed only for serious sins, such as idolatry, homicide, and adultery. It might be said, though, that "levioribus," being a relative term, applied to the less heinous of the grave offences requiring canonical penance.

Not only, says the author, does history offer no evidence of the present auricular confession in use in the primitive ages of the Church, but such an institution would have made the exercise of public penance

impossible. These penances were most rigid. Severe fasts, abstention from the use of marriage, exclusion from the churches, were some of the penalties laid for a term of years upon those who had violated the solemn promises made at Baptism and committed grave delinquencies. So severe was the discipline that the prospect of it made many defer Baptism till late in life, or unduly postpone declaring their sin if they were baptized. Would any one have had recourse to such a severe mode of reconciliation when the same end could have been attained by a simple secret avowal to a priest, coupled with interior sorrow, and followed by the private performance of a comparatively light penance?

Moreover, asserts M. Boudinhon, the language of the Fathers shows that for the first four centuries public penance was the exclusive means of reconciliation with the Church and with God, when great sins had been committed, and that for lighter offences remission could be obtained by prayer and other means. He cites St. Augustine:[1] "Nisi essent quaedam ita gravia ut etiam excommunicatione plectenda sint . . . item nisi essent quaedam non ea humilitate Poenitentiae sananda qualis in Ecclesia datur eis qui proprie Poenitentes vocantur, sed quibusdam correptionum medicamentis; . . . postremo, nisi essent quaedam sive quibus haec vita non agitur, non quotidianam medelam poneret in oratione dum docuit, ut dicamus *Dimitte nobis*," etc. Again:[2] "Nolite illa committere pro quibus necesse est ut a Christi corpore separemini, quod absit a vobis. Illi enim quos videtis agere poenitentiam, scelera commiserunt, aut adulteria aut alia facta immania. Inde agunt poenitentiam. Nam si levia peccata ipsorum essent, ad haec quotidiana oratio delenda sufficeret." In other words, the early Fathers know only one *Poenitentia*, and that is the solemn public one.

M. Boudinhon ridicules the argument that accounts for the silence of the early ecclesiastical writers about Confession by the *disciplina arcani;* and it seems to be now out of repute, since Father Delplace does not mention it. After quoting the language of Saints Augustine and Cæsar of Arles the author proceeds: "Can one imagine Saint Augustine or Saint Cæsar, after a sermon of this kind, explaining to the faithful in secret that their discourses were incomplete; that, besides this means for the remission of sins, there existed another which the discipline of the secret prevented them from speaking of?" As to the few theologians who, with Palmieri, admit that grievous sins were remitted by private and sacramental confession conjointly with the public

[1] *De fide et bonis operibus*, c. paenultimo.

[2] *De symbolo ad catechumenos.*

penance, M. Boudinhon objects that such a secret sacramental penance would not have involved the previous exclusion from the Church, which was the invariable accompaniment of the canonical penance.

The author maintains that this public discipline had all the essential requisites of the Sacrament of Penance: institution by Christ, the sensible sign, consisting of the acts of the penitent and those of the bishop or priest, the interior as well as exterior recollection. The confession would consist of the avowal of guilt, which was generally private; and the remitting power of the priest would be exercised at the readmission of the penitent to the communion of the faithful.

The important relaxations in the usage of canonical penance began when individuals embraced the *state* of penitents from devotion and humility. When this state no longer involved an exclusion from the Church and reconciliation, there was no longer any reason why penance should be a matter of once in a lifetime; and herein, says M. Boudinhon, was the entering wedge for the repeated reception.

M. Boudinhon's article is written strictly on historical lines. It is novel, logical in the main, and suggestive. He opens up a new view of the subject, and one which should provoke comment and criticism.[3] G. J. R.

Resp. To M. Boudinhon's argument, as quoted by our correspondent, we have to say this: Whatever its value in interpreting the terminology of the early Fathers, it can have no weight if it pretends to maintain that auricular confession in its present form only "dates from the eleventh or twelfth century," for in that case it entirely ignores certain historical documents testifying to the actual penitential code of the Roman Church, which belong to a much earlier period, and which aid us in a fair understanding of the words of Leo I and others of the Fathers who speak of private confession and of penance for lesser crimes than those to which public penances were attached. There exists a well-known manuscript codex (known as *Valicell. D. 5*) which was certainly written before Flodoard's time. Its title, "Caeremoniale *antiquum* sive ordo Romanus et Rituale," as well as such phrases in the text as "haec sunt, que a Romana sede accepi"—the volume was apparently com-

[3] M. Boudinhon followed this essay with one of similar interest on the origin and growth of Indulgences.

piled with a view to introduce the Roman rite into the Frankish churches,—indicate that this rite was considered *antiquum* in the tenth century, to which date not only the character of the manuscript and parchment, but certain references to the Emperor Otto III contained therein, relegate it. Eminent critics, such as Hittorpius and Schmitz, prove from internal evidence that this codex is in reality only a copy of another *ordo* composed in the eighth century. At any rate we have here an official ritual used in Germany before 988, and at that time recognized as the *ancient* Roman usage, in which the rite of private or auricular confession is minutely laid down. The text of this *ordo poenitentialis* may be found in Dr. Schmitz's erudite work on the penitential discipline of the early Church (*Buss-disciplin*, Vol. I, pp. 88–93). The form of accusation and absolution makes it absolutely clear that the regular practice of private confession to a priest, essentially as it is in use to-day, was recognized throughout the Roman Church at the time of its writing. It gives us likewise the key, as already intimated, to the sense in which Christian writers before the time of Charlemagne speak of private or secret confession ; whilst it does not prevent our admitting that such expressions as *exomologesis*, occasionally used by St. Basil and others who speak of penance, do not always refer to auricular confession. Perhaps Fathers Casey and Delplace may on their own account have something to say regarding M. Boudinhon's statements, though it seems hardly necessary, since it is quite clear how utterly groundless the assertion above referred to is from the historical point of view.

NOTA.—Owing to the length of the leading papers, we are compelled to withhold for the December issue several important *Analecta* and Conferences.—ED.

Book Review.

DIONYSIUS DER KARTHAEUSER. 1402–1471. Sein Leben, sein Wirken. Eine Neuausgabe seiner Werke. Mit Autograph und Portræt. D. A. Mougel. Aus dem Franzœsischen uebersetzt von einem Priester des Karthæuser-Ordens. Muelheim a. d. Ruhr. Verlag von M. Hegner. 1898.

DOCTORIS ECSTATICI D. DIONYSII CARTHUSIANI OPERA OMNIA in unum Corpus digesta ad Fidem Editionum Coloniensium, cura et labore Monachorum Sacri Ordinis Carthusiensis, favente Pont. Max. Leone XIII; Tomus XVII, SUMMA FIDEI ORTHODOXAE (Libri I–III); Tomus XVIII, SUMMA FIDEI ORTHODOXAE (Libri III–IV), DIALOGION DE FIDE. Monstrolii, typis Cartusiae Sanctae Mariae de Pratis. 1899.

The present German translation of Dom. Mougel's *Denys le Chartreux* has been made the basis of a paper elsewhere in this REVIEW, and the two volumes above mentioned are referred to in the same article. A few further details may here be given for the benefit of any of our readers who may be interested in procuring these works.

The first Life of Dionysius was written by his fellow-religious and devoted disciple, Dom Theodoric Loer. It is given in the Bollandists under March the 12th. On it are based the other biographies found in French, Italian, and Spanish. Dom Mougel and his German translator have utilized all these sources. Besides narrating the chief points of interest in the life of Dionysius, they treat more pertinently of the new edition of his works now under way, the materials—printed and manuscript—on which it is based, its arrangement, etc. The present German version is clearly and interestingly written; and the copious notes will be helpful to any one wishing to go farther into the study of the great Carthusian.

A word as to the new edition. The best prior edition of Dionysius was published at Cologne (1535–36) in eighteen folio volumes and ten volumes of lesser size. Besides being very imperfect both in matter and in form, it has become extremely rare. Hence the demand for a new version, which is now being issued by the Carthusians at their monastery, Notre-Dame des Prés, Neuille-sous-Montreuil. Thus far

about eighteen volumes have left the press, and at least three volumes yearly are promised by the publishers.

There are already so many books without which, the reviewers assure us, "no library is complete," that one may well hesitate before adding a long series of forty-eight more to the list of indispensables. There is, however, no need of hesitation in saying that the works of Dionysius should have a place in the library of every ecclesiastical institution. Professors as well as students will find in these works inexhaustible nourishment for mind and heart, and unfailing stimulus to labor. Moreover, at least special portions of the whole it were well for every priest to possess. Doubtless the present *Medulla* of the *Summa*, and certainly the Dialogue on Faith would fall amongst this number.

Was it Coleridge who was found in his library by a fellow-litterateur, patting and hugging his books as though they were living friends? Not everyone is thus demonstrative in bookish affection; but surely if there are any books that may legitimately evoke such manifestations from a book-lover, they are these splendid quartos. Paper, letterpress, and the whole make-up of the volumes are such as to make it a real pleasure to take them in hand. Whilst the editors and publishers have spared neither pains nor pecuniary outlay to make the edition what Leo XIII wished it to be—"auctoris rerumque dignitati respondens,"—the price of subscription has been placed at a very low rate, eight francs a volume. It is to be hoped that the undertaking will receive the encouragement it so richly deserves.

EXHORTATIONES DOMESTICAE Venerabilis S. D. Cardinalis Roberti Bellarmini. Ex Codice Autographo Bibliothecae Rossianae S.J. Bruxellis. 1899. Pp. 336.

Father Van Ortroy has lately met with the good fortune of discovering among the MS. volumes of the old library of the Duchess Carola de Bourbon, and bequeathed by her to the Society of Jesus, a valuable autograph codex from the hand of the illustrious Cardinal Bellarmine. It is a folio of medium size—403 pages—containing some sixty exhortations and homilies, well preserved, with the exception of a few pages which are missing, and some slight lacunae in the text. The work is written partly in Latin and partly in Italian.

The codex appears to have been known to Father Boero, of the same society, who mentions the contents in a letter to P. Pruvost, and who is in all probability the editor of the tracts *De Cognitione Dei*, *De*

Misericordia Dei, and *De Justitia Punitiva*,[1] which were published at Louvain in 1861. But with this exception, and some portions which closely recall certain passages in Bellarmine's published tract *De Ascensione mentis ad Deum*, the entire volume contains new and hitherto unpublished material.

It is well known that Bellarmine excelled in this kind of work; even when still very young—hardly twenty-two years of age—he was sent by his superiors to give instructions to the novices. The bulk of the present conferences dates however from a later period, when Father Bellarmine was rector at the Roman College, and subsequently when he acted as superior of the Neapolitan province. Some of the addresses were delivered when he was already Cardinal. Thus the matter contained in the volume covers a period of nearly thirty years, and reflects altogether the ripe mind of a spiritual guide who before middle life had, as he himself tells us, laid aside the rhetorical forms—"decrevit ornamenta omnino verborum dimittere." These exhortations are accordingly, in the main, outlines of his thoughts, containing the argument of his theme rather than discourses intended to be read. The expression is always clear, and wrought out with more or less fulness, yet with little regard for finished language; and they show that he wrote these notes mainly to aid him as landmarks and by way of preparation for his discourses freely delivered.

It will be of some interest to admirers of the learned and holy Cardinal to note here the principal topics of which the volume treats. There are three exhortations, *De Custodia Cordis*, followed by one, *De Circumcisione Cordis*, and another, *De Duritia Cordis*. In another part of the book we find two tracts, *De Custodia et Puritate Cordis*. Next, the gifts of the Holy Ghost are taken up: Holy Fear, Piety, Counsel. To the same category belongs an exhortation for Whit-Monday. About a dozen discourses treat of Charity, its requisites, beauty, and utility; an equal number have for their topic Christian and especially Religious perfection; others are on liberty of spirit, knowledge of God, humility. The remainder are conferences addressed to Novices, and on occasion of the renewal of vows; on the anniversary of the death of St. Ignatius; on special phases of the evangelical counsels, etc.

[1] *Cf.* pp. 193 and 239–248 of the present volume.

PAULUS UND DIE GEMEINDE VON KORINTH. Auf Grund der beiden Korinther-Briefe. Von Dr. Ignaz Rohr (Tuebingen). Bd. IV, Fasc. 4, Biblische Studien. Freiburg im Breisgau, St. Louis, Mo.: B. Herder. 1899. Pp. 158. Preis, 96 cents.

Biblische Studien, published by a circle of leading Scripture scholars in Germany, under the direction of the Munich professor, Dr. Bardenhewer, treats in its latest issue a topic of special interest and importance, not only from the historical, but also from the sociological point of view. Students of Pauline literature will perhaps remember that the author, Dr. Rohr, received the honors of a prize, awarded by the theological faculty of the Tübingen University, for an essay entitled *Die Zustände der Gemeinde von Korinth zur Zeit des ersten und zweiten Korinther-Briefes*. The present publication is on the same lines, that is, an elaboration of the same theme. It enters into the social conditions of a time when the newly-founded Christian congregation at Corinth had to battle with the adverse circumstances of racial or national opposition on the one side, and of materialistic and sectarian influences from powerful factions on the other. St. Paul meets these difficulties by laying down certain principles equally applicable for the solution of politico-religious and economical problems that confront the responsible leaders, and among these particularly the clergy, in our day and country. It is the author's purpose to set forth the practical bearing of these principles, and their application to lines of conduct very similar to those under which St. Paul had to regulate his actions in establishing reforms throughout Asia Minor.

In the five sections of the work, he illustrates in succession the political and religious state of Corinth before the introduction of Christianity, the foundation and the ecclesiastical government of the young congregation, the natural and supernatural means employed to confirm the new faith (action of the *charismata*), the moral lights and shades that helped or frustrated the pastoral action of the apostolic laborers in the new field, and finally in detail the difficulties arising out of the party strifes within and without the Church at Corinth.

It would be highly instructive to dwell on the author's exposition of separate phases which characterize the topics mentioned; but we should be anticipating a more thorough study of the subject in its connections to be obtained from the work itself. Dr. Rohr disposes summarily of the interpretation of the *charismata* given by Eichborn, Hegel, Nösselt, and the whole rationalistic fraternity, who see in the gifts enumerated

by the Apostle nothing of the supernatural order. Particularly instructive are the author's comments on the subject of the marriage-bond, and on the social question, as well as the light he throws upon the character of the parties which claimed the name of Christ, whilst professing separate allegiance to different apostles and teachers.

This contribution to *Biblische Studien* is unquestionably one of the most important in point of utility, and, in view of the manner in which the author treats the subject, may be considered also as a valuable addition to the literature of Pastoral theology.

THE LITTLE FLOWERS OF SAINT FRANCIS OF ASSISI. With Eight Illustrations by Paul Woodroffe. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Truebner & Company; New York: Benziger Brothers. 1899.

We are glad to direct attention to this really handsome edition of a volume which is favorite reading with every lover of the humble Saint of Assisi. The quaint simplicity with which the anonymous writer, whom we must suppose to belong to the fourteenth century, spreads out his "Little Flowers—namely, miracles and devout examples of the glorious little one of Christ, St. Francis, and of some of his holy companions, to the praise of Jesus Christ," offers a wholesome antidote to the spirit of supercilious incredulity which characterizes our own age. As in 1182 the acclaim of "peace and prosperity" sounded through the streets of Assisi like a foreboding of the warfare which St. Francis was soon to preach against the luxury and self-indulgence of his contemporaries, so "peace and prosperity," placed before the youth of our day as fit ideals for their highest aspiration, seem to call for a revival of the true Franciscan spirit, and humble self-abnegation and its love of the treasures that neither rust nor moth consumes.

Some years ago the Roberts Brothers, of Boston, published a neat English version of the *Fioretti* with a biographical notice by Abby Langdon Alger; but the present edition surpasses it, both in the rendering of the translation, which is made by the Franciscan Fathers at Upton, afterwards carefully revised to harmonize with the Italian original; and especially in the letterpress and plates. Mr. Woodroffe has illustrated the volume with charming taste, suggesting, by the delicate handling of his burin, the true inwardness of the Saint's seraphic life. The book makes an apt Christmas souvenir for any one that values Christian sentiment.

THE FLOWER OF THE NEW WORLD: Being a Short History of St. Rose of Lima. By F. M. Capes. With an Introduction by the Very Rev. Fr. Proctor, Provincial of the English Dominicans. London: R. & T. Washbourne; New York: Benziger Brothers. 1899. Pp. 190.

More than fifty years ago Father Faber published an English Life of St. Rose of Lima; it was a translation of the French work by Fr. Feuillet, O.P., written during the canonization process which terminated in 1671. In the preface to the English version the Oratorian translator expresses some apprehension as to the view that might be taken at the time regarding the judiciousness of publishing in England a work which seems to obtrude upon our attention certain excellences of the spiritual life which are extremely irritating to our materialistic and highly cultivated race, and do not always escape the criticism of Catholics, at least of the worldly-minded among us. "The visible intermingling of the natural and supernatural worlds, which seems to increase as the saints approach through the grace of God to their first innocence, may even offend where persons have been in the habit of paring and bating down the 'unearthly' in order to evade objections and lighten the load of the controversialist, rather than of meditating with awe and thankfulness and deep self-abasement on the wonders of God and His saints, or of really sounding the depths of Christian philosophy, and mastering the principles and general laws which are discernible even in the supernatural regions of hagiology." The success of the book proved sufficiently that a bold statement of facts on the side of God rarely fails to vindicate its truthfulness, where the timid and ever apologetic process of temporizing in matters representing the divine claim of credibility usually inspires doubts.

Since Father Faber's time sentiment in regard to Catholics has changed, particularly in England; and there is less danger that the habits of self-crucifixion, to which St. Rose was given in so high a degree, will scandalize people, even if they do not comprehend the meaning of expiatory mortification. The author of this new Life finds, despite the narrow space into which the biography is compressed, occasions to explain the Catholic view of the extraordinary acts and privileges of divine communication which we meet with in the history of the Saint. There are also certain aspects of that history which have not been touched upon in the old French Life, and which our author has taken from Bussierre's *Le Perou et Sainte Rose de Lima*, published since the Oratorian translation was made. That the study of models

like St. Rose has its practical lessons in our day which still produce their likenesses in the midst of worldly society and among the best educated classes, even in northern countries, where enthusiasm and sentiment are supposed to be less potent than in the native land of St. Rose, is evident from such lives as that of the saintly Clare Vaughan and other religious of the penitential orders, of whose virtue the world gets an occasional glimpse.

A GENERAL HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN ERA. For Catholic Colleges and Reading Circles, and for self-instruction. Vol. III. The Social Revolution. By A. Guggenberger, S.J., Professor of History at Canisius College, Buffalo, N. Y. St. Louis: B. Herder. 1899.

It is somewhat difficult to estimate correctly the design and plan—as well as their accomplishment—of this new *General History*, since the third volume only has as yet appeared. But as far as one may judge from it, both the design and accomplishment are worthy of great praise. All the pedagogical helps to clearness, so noticeably present in text-books used by non-Catholic colleges and even elementary schools, and too often so very noticeably absent from the text-books issued by Catholic presses, have been freely used in Father Guggenberger's *History*, and with the best results. Although the volume contains 432 large octavo pages, a careful distribution of the text into small and large type makes it possible for a teacher to cover easily the whole ground—minutely, if time should serve; broadly, if time be very limited. The many colored maps accompanying the volume are admirably executed. They are not distributed throughout the text—an arrangement almost universally employed in histories—but are located at the end. At first sight this might seem to be a faulty disposition, but those who have given thought to the matter must have noticed that if the maps be distributed throughout a good-sized volume, they really serve to illustrate with facility no more than a single page of the text. The reader must frequently turn back and search out the location of the map he desires to consult, at an expense of time and patience which he is apt but grudgingly to make, if he makes it at all. The maps in this *General History*, on the other hand, are so placed that any one may be readily opened out fully, and be made to do service for any number of pages of text. The Genealogical Charts are placed in the body of the text—where they should be. In fine, the pedagogy of the printing-press—if we may be indulged in that phrase—leaves so little

to be desired, and the volume withal is so substantially and attractively bound, that we must confess to a pleasant feeling of wonder at the very low price ($1.50 retail; $1.13 wholesale), a price that really places it easily within the reach of the three classes of readers to whom it appeals. We earnestly commend the work to the attention of educators.

CHRISTIAN EDUCATION, or The Duties of Parents. By the Rev. William Becker, S.J. St. Louis, Mo.: B. Herder. 1899. Pp. 424.

DIE CHRISTLICHE ERZIEHUNG, oder Pflichten der Eltern. Von Wilhelm Becker, S.J. Freiburg im Breisgau, St. Louis, Mo.: B. Herder. 1896. Pp. 305.

AUX MERES. Causeries sur l'Education. Par le R. P. Jean Charruau, S.J. Paris: Victor Retaux, 82, Rue Bonaparte.

If there is any one thing more than another which our social body stands in need of in order to renew and preserve its moral health and strength, it is the spirit and temper of Christian motherhood. Fernald defines woman as "a creature whose love of her offspring is imperishable." This, to his mind, is the distinguishing feature between human and animal motherhood. There is truth in the distinction, and it points out at once the power and the necessity of directing this deathless influence which regulates happiness or misery within the circle of which a mother becomes inevitably the moral centre. That circle may be large or small; yet whether large or small, it is a wheel in the great machinery of social life which aids in its measure and regulates or controls the movement of the whole.

We have in America and Australia, as in England and Ireland, made great headway of late years by the establishment of Catholic schools; and it is largely supposed that the main problem of education as a sustaining influence of the Church's life, has been successfully solved. Yet this is not quite true. A large percentage of those who have been at Catholic schools lose, practically, their faith when they happen to be thrown out of immediate contact with such Catholic society as will extend to them a moral support or coercion, keeping them within reach of Catholic precept. And the reason of it all is that the education of the child, by which it becomes really strong and, if we may say so, self-supporting, morally as well as intellectually, is not given in school, but at home; not after the faculties of the mind have developed, but while they are developing; not under the disci-

pline of a capable teacher, but at the mother's knee, nay, at her breast. It is impressions that form the basis of all knowledge and of the direction of the will; and these impressions are formed through the senses in the heart, wax-like, of the infant, ere it can speak. Much has been said of the characteristics of inherited disposition; and it is true that many traits of our human nature descend from parent to child, and impart to the latter an aptitude and tendency which apparently facilitate virtue or vice. But disposition is superseded by character; and character, though frequently developed through a series of habits as the result of reflection, may be built up gradually in the child upon the foundation of example and precept. What the mother does is the ideal and pattern of the child's action; the mother's commands are the child's highest authority; what the mother says constitutes the child's last appeal to the bar of truth and right. "It must be so, because mamma said so." "I may not do this, because mamma forbade me." "My mamma always does this!" There is indeed no stronger power on earth than this authority, which forms and directs the activity of the child's mental and moral faculties; which becomes the source of its convictions, its tastes and loves, and, alas! of its often insurmountable prejudices and habits of wrong. To make parents, and especially mothers, feel this power, and the awful responsibility which goes with its use or neglect, is the object of the volumes placed at the head of this paper.

Father Becker's conferences, though delivered originally in the German language, were addressed to parents who live in America, and to whom the special dangers surrounding the youth of our country are familiar. They are, too, of recent date, having been published only a few years ago, so that the author,—who has since then been called to his eternal reward,—cannot be said to be dealing with outside conditions. In truth these sermons, in their popular form and English dress, are admirably suited to the real needs of the day; and priests of every condition will find in them healthful and practical direction for explaining to the people the importance and the process of home education, and the manner in which it is to be supplemented by the instruction in the parochial schools.

Whilst Father Becker's book addresses itself to parents in general, the abbé Charruau appeals in particular to Christian mothers. *Aux Mères* departs from the didactic form which characterizes most works on the subject of education, and talks in familiar strain, and under captious headings, about the educational facts which a mother encounters and has to consider in the effort to lead her child to true happiness.

What constitutes the burden of the first lessons; how the habit of piety is engendered; what are the faults which grow insensibly in the child, and how we are to deal with them; what are the faults of mothers which lessen their influence as educators; these and like topics are illustrated from practical principles taught by experience in the home and in school; and these lessons are supplemented by the counsels of a mother of whose life we get some beautiful glimpses, the Marquise de Lormel, who writes to some younger friends seeking her advice in the training of children. Other subjects, such as sickness, death, marriage, religious vocation, are treated under the head of "Le Sacrifice;" whilst "Les Sources du Courage," namely prayer and the love of God, are separately taken up in the appendix after some notes from the diary of the saintly Marquise de Lormel, which throw light upon the last days of her life.

Recent Popular Books.[1]

AULD LANG SYNE: F. Max Muller. $2.00.

Reminiscences of beloved Indian literary works and of typical learned Indians form the substance of this volume, which is so serious in manner that it is practically sealed to those readers who might derive harm from its author's quiet indifference to Christianity. His entire devotion to learning makes him one of the most interesting of literary men, considered personally, and no other English writing person can give such information on Indian literature as this volume affords.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF A CHILD: Hannah Lynch. $1.50.

The writer represents herself as extremely difficult to manage, and her mother, kinsfolk, and teachers as very poor managers. Her memory of childish feelings and sorrows is extraordinarily accurate, but her method of presenting them as gravely as if they belonged to years of discretion makes the book unsuitable for readers unskilled in psychology and unable to interpret her record.

CAPE OF STORMS: Percival Pollard. $1.25.

Key-novel is the name given to books of this species. Real men are so described that their names are easily guessed and actual incidents in their lives are ingeniously mingled with others which never happened, the intention being either mercantile or malicious. The author is capable of writing a good novel for general reading; he has chosen to write a key-novel suitable only for mature male readers.

CHILD'S PRIMER OF NATURAL HISTORY: Oliver Herford. $1.25.

Comic pictures of many animals, wild and tame, with witty versified descriptions in large type. The book is intended for readers between first and second childhood.

DIFFERENCES: Hervey White. $1.50.

Sentimental almsgiving, the fashionable amusement, here finds an historian who is not deceived by the pretences of the almsgivers, or so misled by the real goodness of some of them as to accept their theories. He contrives to show the fallacy of the belief that any enduring good can come from their mockery of charity, and marries off his heroine, an educated, gently reared American girl, to an English workman, whom she has succored when he was out of employment. The picture of a Protestant settlement house is perfectly truthful.

DRIVES AND PUTS: Walter Camp and Lilian Brooks. $1.25.

Eleven golf stories, as compact and abbreviated as a smart golfing costume, not too technical for mortal apprehension, and agreeable as plain fiction, aside from their sporting flavor.

DUTCH AND QUAKER COLONIES IN AMERICA: John Fiske. 2 vols. $4.00.

These two volumes complete a series describing the settlement of the thirteen original American colonies, and bringing their history down to the time when their real struggle with New France began. They skilfully combine personal and public matters, give the complete text of important documents belonging to the subject, and reproduce many old maps. Their style is so lucid that any sensible child of twelve years can enjoy them, but it does not lack due dignity.

FOR LOVE'S SWEET SAKE: G. Hembert Wesley. $1.50.

Brief love poems, their moral higher than their literary standard, compose this volume, which has a very tasteful cover and is well adapted for a gift-book. The illustrations, headings, and tail-pieces, all especially made for the book, harmonize with the text, conforming to old-fashioned American ideas of propriety and never becoming "modern" in the smallest degree.

FOR THEE ALONE: Selected by Grace Hartshorne. $1.50.

About 320 love poems, illustrated by 16 half-tone illustrations after paintings by French, Italian, German, and English modern artists. The verses are indexed by authors' names and by first lines, and Elizabethan and Victorian poets are equally represented. The book is better adapted to mature lovers than to the very young, the literary character of the selections being rather above the average taste.

FRANCE AND ITALY: Imbert de Saint Amand. $1.50.

As the author restricts himself to telling the story of 1859, the book necessarily ends at the point most interesting to Catholics, but he maintains his attitude of Bonapartist, and is no partisan of Victor Emmanuel. His little sketch of the Duchess of Parma is moving, and his devotion to the Empress is constant. He stoutly maintains the thesis that Napoleon III was a soldier of genius, and the real winner of the great Italian battles. Striking portraits of the Emperor

[1] The prices given are those for which the books will be sent by the publisher postpaid. The best booksellers in large cities grant a discount of twenty-five per cent., except on choice books, but the buyer pays express charges.

All the books herein mentioned may be ordered from Messrs. G. P. Putnam's Sons: New York; Henry T. Coates & Co.: Philadelphia; W. B. Clarke Co.: Boston; Robert Clark: Cincinnati; Burrows Bros. Co.: Cleveland; Messrs. C. A. McClurg & Co.: Chicago.

of Austria, Marshal MacMahon, the king of Sardinia, and Count Cavour illustrate the book, the twenty-fourth of its author's French chronicles.

FRIVOLITIES: Richard Marsh. $1.50.

This group of twelve stories contains no tale entirely original, but such themes as an advertisement which brings too many answers; a stupid servant who treats all hats as if they were of the "crush" variety, and the troubles of the Lord Chancellor with his feminine wards are treated with admirable good taste. Its frivolities are pleasant and harmless.

HENRY WORTHINGTON, IDEALIST: Margaret Sherwood. $1.50.

The hero resigns his university professorship as a protest against the acceptance of a gift of money acquired by unchristian and dishonest methods. In the course of his preliminary investigations into the donor's character, he finds the man's daughter behind the counter in one of his three department-shops, and loves her before he discovers who she is. In the end, the two marry, and refuse to share, directly or indirectly, in the shopkeeper's dishonest gains. The exposure of his methods is not exaggerated, and should be brought to the attention of every greedy bargain-hunter, rich or poor.

HOUSE OF THE SORCERER: Haldane McFall. $1.25.

Only those professionally compelled to study the character of the uneducated negro living in a white man's country should read this book, and they should understand that it presents black and colored men and women in an aspect almost purely sensual. An obeah man and his evil ways, and certain obeah rites, are described with much detail, and a few pages of common sense spoken by a comparatively enlightened and especially immoral negro constitute the single interruption in a chain of ugly pictures.

IN GUIANA WILDS: James Rodway. $1.50.

The hero, a Demerara clerk, marries an ignorant girl of mixed native, white and black blood, and when rendered bankrupt by her extravagance, betakes himself to the forest, and marries a savage by savage rites. The volume contains some good descriptive passages, but also some pages unfit for general reading, and its story is left unfinished.

INVISIBLE LINKS: Selma Lagerlof. $1.50.

Fourteen Swedish legends, fairy tales, mystical stories, descriptions of mental and spiritual struggles, and gently humorous sketches, all translated with perfect art. Their literary quality is admirable, and more than one teaches a religious truth. All are highly condensed, although never obscure. It is in this author's work, not in Ibsen's, that the real Scandinavia is to be found.

KIPLING PRIMER: Frederic Lawrence Knowles. $1.50.

A descriptive list of Mr. Kipling's stories and poems, with the plots of his two novels, comment from various sources upon many of the chief pieces of work, a list of first editions, a biographical sketch of the author, and a general criticism of his works are included in this volume. It is not intended for schools, or for severely critical persons, but for the average forgetful reader, unable to retain a complete mental vision of the author's work.

KIT KENNEDY: S. R. Crockett.

The hero's mother secretly marries a fascinating scamp who deserts her under such circumstances that a rival is able to persuade her that she is not really a wife, and to compel her to wed with him. The hero's childhood is passed partly with his mother's parents, partly at the house of his step-father's sister, whose cruelty he endures with much fortitude. His father reappears, and in the end it is shown that the reputed husband had a wife when nominally married to Kit's mother, and murdered her. Scottish dialect flavors every page.

LETTERS AND RECOLLECTIONS OF JOHN MURRAY FORBES: Sarah Forbes Hughes. 2 vols. $5.00.

The subject, a China merchant, railway owner, and man of affairs, was the most active Northern private citizen during the Civil War, aiding the government in enlisting men, in communicating with foreign powers, in disseminating news, and in preserving the health of the soldiers, besides contributing large sums of money to various objects. His private life was passed among the best Americans of his time, 1813–1898, and the two volumes present the fairest aspect of Protestant-American life. The work is illustrated with portraits and with a map of the railway system which he fostered.

LOCAL HABITATION: Walter Leon Sawyer. $1.25.

The lesson of this book is that Pharisaic authors who deliberately undertake to live among their inferiors, real or supposed, for the sake of making copy, may end by adopting the vices of the persons studied, and losing the power of perceiving their virtues. Superficially, it is a description of a certain section of Boston occupied by lodging-houses inhabited by working men and women. The author has a keen eye for the ludicrous side of certain anti-Protestant services conducted in this neighborhood, but he is evidently not a Catholic. The book is not meant for girls, and would displease most women, for its truthfulness is too outspoken.

MAKING OF HAWAII: William Fremont Blackman. $2.00.

Moral, political, and social development of heathen civilized too rapidly for symmetrical development, and the struggle between old and new conditions form the subject of this book. The author's praise of the missionaries is rather too strong,

considering their entire career, and his eulogy of the Executive is almost amusing, but his work fairly represents the middle ground between the Queen and those who discrowned her.

MAMMON & CO.: E. L. Benson. $1.50.

Hooley, the recently exposed speculator, figures in this story, together, under another name, with certain peers too ignorant of business to perceive to what lending their names to his projects may lead, and apparently too greedy to care. The intrigues of their even more ignorant and unscrupulous wives, and their discomfiture at Hooley's hands, form an important part of the story, and also their social intrigues, which end in dire disgrace for one of them. A sturdy, honest younger son and his honest American wife save the situation, and a Chicago Mrs. Malaprop furnishes the fun. The worst villainy of the story is of a species so scandalous that the novel is unfit for the reading of any woman fastidious as to the purity of her thoughts.

MANY-SIDED FRANKLIN: Paul Leicester Ford. $3.00.

The historian has been so minute in his researches, and has uncovered so many small sources of knowledge, that his Franklin is quite different from the one which Franklin's mirror displayed to him, to be transferred to his own pages. In great matters, there is little difference, but in small details, dear to vanity, the deviation is very great, and amusing to trace. Many portraits, and quotations from many papers not hitherto collated, give this book a value beyond all the elder biographies.

MARTYR'S IDYL: Louise Imogen Guiney. $1.00.

A brief drama, its subject and much of its dialogue taken from the Acta Sanctorum and St. Ambrose, and twenty-five short poems. The author has almost overcome her youthful faults of obscurity and verbal foppery and allows her real genius to appear. Many of the poems are almost perfect in execution, and all are thoughtful. The best are those on legendary themes.

NIGHT HAS A THOUSAND EYES: Francis W. Bourdillon. $1.00.

Sixty little poems of two stanzas each, all delicately turned and finished, and twelve pictures by E. H. Garrett. (New edition.)

NOOKS AND CORNERS OF OLD NEW YORK: Charles Helmstreet. $2.00.

Hundreds of landmarks and places of interest are briefly described, and about thirty are illustrated by Ernest X. Peixotto. The history of each spot is related with minuteness, and the index is full, the whole being valuable both for reference and as a guide. Wide margins and choice paper adapt the work to the taste of the antiquary and the bibliophile.

OLD MADAME AND OTHER TRAGEDIES: Harriet Prescott Spofford.

Five tales, miniature novels rather than short stories, written with elegant precision and in perfect taste, yet with a certain fiery impressiveness that takes possession of the reader.

ON TRIAL: Gwendolen Keats (Zack). $1.50.

The sorry hero, having purchased his discharge from the army with money stolen by his sweetheart, is mercilessly blackmailed by the villain, and at last, driven to despair, kills himself accidentally while trying to kill his enemy, and the villain's betrothed dies of grief caused by the discovery of his worthlessness. The irresistible retribution waiting upon wickedness, whatsoever its motive and howsoever secret its performance, is forced upon the reader's apprehension with great skill. The story far surpasses its predecessor, "Life Is Life."

ORANGE GIRL: Sir Walter Besant. $1.50.

The heroine, a brilliant actress, the sole honest woman in a thievish family, marries a man apparently respectable, although a trickster, and afterwards outwits his attempts to secure his honest cousin's fortune. The author's minute knowledge of the social life in the last century is used with great ability, and the book can bear comparison with "The Virginians."

PERSONAL OPINIONS OF HONORE DE BALZAC. $1.50.

The opinions are gleaned from essays, criticisms, letters, and other works, and the volume forms an appendix to the "Comedie Humaine," which embodies the same opinions in the form of fiction. M. Brunetière's address at the celebration of the Balzac Centenary, and certain interesting notes by the Balzac translator, Miss Wormeley, are included in the volume, which affords an easy means of appreciating the novelist's piety and the gravity of his purpose.

PRICE OF BLOOD: Howard Pyle. $1.25.

The author-artist relates such a series of events as the good Haroun Alraschid might have discovered in Bagdad, but he places them in the New York of 1807, and imitates the style of the older versions of the Arabian Nights so well that the horrors related amuse rather than terrify. The pictures are printed in black and carmine, which color appears on the cover and edges of the book by way of preparing the reader's mind for its contents.

RIVER OF PEARLS: René de Pont-Jest. $1.50.

The sufferings of a young Chinese bride, whose cousin is accused of murdering her bridegroom, and the devices by which a clever foreigner exposes the real assassin,

constitute the theme of the novel, and with it are interwoven many descriptions of Chinese manners and customs, some strange, some absurd, and some almost incredibly horrible. It is written with French lightness, and is well translated in the main, although "*brave*" is invariably rendered "brave" regardless of position.

ROB AND KIT: Author of "Miss Toosey's Mission." $1.00.

Rob, the motherless son of a cynical, selfish physician, and Kit, the motherless daughter of a kindly English vicar, grow up together and fall in love. Their marriage is not even delayed by the villain, who persuades the vicar to give him Kit's hand by pretending to help him out of financial straits. His wickedness is discovered in an hour, a rich uncle appears and every one is happy. The simple tale is well written and occasionally witty.

STALKY & CO.: Rudyard Kipling. $1.50.

These school stories are rather the dreams of a boy than the well imagined fiction of Mr. Kipling's later years, for the young heroes whom one sees triumphantly avenging the real or fancied wrongs inflicted upon them by their elders are too clever to be credible. The author's intention seems to be to show how the public school develops the strategist and the leader of men, but his heroes never act from good motives or through the good motives of others, and a generation resembling them would fit the world for another deluge. Still, although defective in truth, and therefore in art, the tales are as diverting as the gambols of young animals. They are absolutely unfit for the reading of any boy under collegiate age.

STUDIES IN FOREIGN LITERATURE: Virginia M. Crawford. $1.75.

Essays originally published in the *Fortnightly* and *Contemporary Reviews*, *Cosmopolis*, and the *Month*. The subjects are Rostand, Daudet, Huysmans, Verhaeren, Maaterlinck, Rodenbach, Sienkiewicz, Tolstoi, D'Annunzio, and Foggazzaro. The author avoids discussion of the moral quality of her authors, except in cases in which it is unimpeachable. Sometimes she mistakes a predilection for the subject of religion for religious feeling and renders judgment accordingly, so that she is hardly a safe guide for those in search of innocent literature or pious thought, but if one know her authors, her criticism is worth reading as a good example of judgment by the latest standards.

THEIR SHADOWS BEFORE: Pauline Carrington Bouve. $1.25.

The heroine, a planter's daughter, relates the story of the negro insurrection and massacre in Southampton, Va., in 1831, at which time she was a child. The curiously feverish mental condition of the slaves upon whose ignorant minds the cunning Nat Turner worked; the mingled ferocity and lunacy of Turner himself; his strange hiding place, and one a scene of murder, are described with simplicity and with truthful adherence to the child's view of incidents passing before its untrained vision. The story is an historical novel, not a political document, and adheres closely to truth.

TO ROME ON A TRICYCLE: Joseph and Elizabeth Robins Pennell. $1.50.

A new edition of a volume written by Mrs. Pennell and illustrated by her husband, in days when every village between Florence and Rome was wildly excited by the approach of a tricycle The narrative is vivacious, the pictures good, and the route described is excellent.

VIA CRUCIS: F. Marion Crawford. $1.50.

The young hero, thrust from his home by the marriage of his worthless mother with his father's murderer, barely escapes the murderer's sword, and after a season in a convent, and in the train of Geoffrey Plantagenet, joins in the second crusade. Queen Eleanor loves him, but his nobility of character induces her to conquer her passion, and he wins his spurs and shield by prodigies of valor, all brilliantly described. The personages of the times and the times themselves live again in these pages, in which one sees Christianity sturdy of growth even among the surviving weeds of heathenism. This seems to be the first volume of a cycle, but it is complete, and is a very noble book. The hero, a mailed St. Anthony, is a novelty indeed.

WHERE ANGELS FEAR TO TREAD: Morgan Robertson. $1.25.

Ten stories chiefly describe adventures possible only on modern warships, but the first relates the fate of a captain who sailed from New York to Callao with a crew accustomed to lake navigation and decent treatment. All are clever, but the first is destined to become a nautical classic.

YARN OF A BUCKO MATE: Herbert Elliott Hamblen. $1.50.

The author faithfully describes the sufferings undergone by the crew of an old-fashioned swift packet, and traces the development of a brutally treated sailor into a brutal officer, and then transforms him into a piratical seeker for buried treasure. The truthful beginning is almost as startling as the fictitious ending; but a "yarn" is not supposed to be tame.

Juveniles.

BETTY LEICESTER'S ENGLISH CHRISTMAS: Sarah Orne Jewett. $1.00.

The experience of a well-bred American girl spending the holidays in a ducal household and behaving with the simple courtesy of her kind: a romance without a hero. [Twelve to fifteen years.]

BOYS AND GIRLS OF BRANTHAM: Evelyn Raymond. $1.50.

The senior class of a boys' academy is surprised by the appearance of twelve girl

students and misbehaves seriously before deciding to allow the institution to be conducted by its teachers and trustees. The girls are models, and much improve the boys. It is a pleasant story, but not an argument for or against co-education. [Twelve to fourteen years.]

BOYS OF MARMITON PRAIRIE: Gertrude Smith. $1.50.

Three boys, a wonderful horse, a clever little girl, various hermit pioneers, and an Indian seer figure in a chain of interesting adventures. The boys have some faults, but are manly, healthy-minded fellows, and the book demands little of a reader. [Eight to twelve years.]

BOYS OF SCROOBY: Ruth Hall. $1.00.

Fragments of the history of the oldest three English colonies blend with the adventures of three sons of parents driven from their English homes by "Church-of-England" persecution. The few phrases relating to religious matters are Protestant but not controversial. [Twelve to fifteen years.]

CAMP ARCADY: Floy Campbell. $0.75.

Two young artists, a music teacher and a self-styled future Siddons live together in a New York flat, working earnestly and aiding one another in sisterly ways. Three of the four find themselves incompetent for their chosen work, but the story ends with happiness for all. The girls actually resemble the average girl-student, not morbid, not wicked, and not masculine. [Fifteen years and upward.]

CAMPING ON THE ST. LAWRENCE: Everett T. Tomlinson. $1.50.

Adventures of four boys with a shrewd Yankee guide and his son, with some historical information introduced in an easy, natural way, and some instruction as to a country boy's range of reading; a good corrective for cockneyism. [Ten to fifteen years.]

CAPTAIN TOM, THE PRIVATEERSMAN: James Otis. $1.25.

The boy heroes of "The Cruise of the Comet" make another voyage with Captain Tom, capturing eighteen vessels. The book is simply written, the boys not too heroic for belief, and the ugliness of privateering not disguised. [Ten to fourteen years.]

HARUM SCARUM JOE: Will Allen Dromgoole. $0.50.

A devoted sister saves a brother's life from the consequences of his rash garrulity. The characters are Tennessee mountaineers and the story is skilfully and kindly told. [Eleven to fifteen years.]

JERSEY BOY IN THE REVOLUTION: Everett T. Tomlinson. $1.50.

This sequel to "The Boys of Monmouth" has the same hero, who sees much fighting, both by land and water, before the close of the war. The author treats honest Tories and dishonest Whigs fairly, but his best characters are patriots all, especially the Irishman, to whom he attributes an extraordinary dialect. [Twelve to fourteen years.]

LEGEND LED: Amy Le Feuvre. $1.00.

Two boys and a girl, reading the story of the Holy Grail, puzzle over it among themselves and are slowly led to what Calvinists call a change of heart. The book is too sentimental, and entirely Protestant in teaching.

LITTLE BERMUDA: Marie Louise Pool. $1.00.

The heroine, the devoted daughter of an unworthy father, meets two happy and wealthy girls, after which, as one of them phrases it, "they save one another's lives continually." It is a fairy tale of Bermudan adventure, and teaches self-control. [Ten to fifteen years.]

MINUTE BOYS OF BUNKER HILL: Edward Stratemeyer. $1.25.

The action occupies the time between the battle of Lexington and the evacuation of Boston, April 19, 1775–March 17, 1776. The author does justice to the bravery shown by the British, without in any way belittling the patriots. Eight full-page pictures and a cover showing the boys in uniform illustrate the story. [Ten to fourteen years.]

NANNIE'S HAPPY CHILDHOOD: Caroline Leslie Field. $1.00.

Both heroine and hero are sweet-tempered, considerate, and well-bred, and both divert themselves with imagining fairy tales about commonplace persons and incidents. The background is pleasantly-described sylvan and rural scenery and charming domestic scenes. [Ten years and upward.]

PLANTATION PAGEANTS: Joel Chandler Harris. $2.00.

Two "Br'er Rabbit" stories; a fox hunt and the autobiography of the fox, and also of a 'coon, a crow, and a flying squirrel; a fantastic tale of adventures inside a bubble; good pictures of all of the animals, Br'er Rabbit wearing a striped waistcoat; and pleasant negro dialect written in perfection make this volume delightful. It informally teaches good manners and good morals. [Ten years to any age.]

SPY IN THE SCHOOL: Andrew Home.

The brave hero outwits a wicked schoolmaster in his attempt to steal papers from the headmaster, and also protects his chosen friend from the master's evil hypnotic influence.

RAPHAEL: Estelle M. Harll. $0.75.

The first of a series of volumes each containing a group of pictures by some old